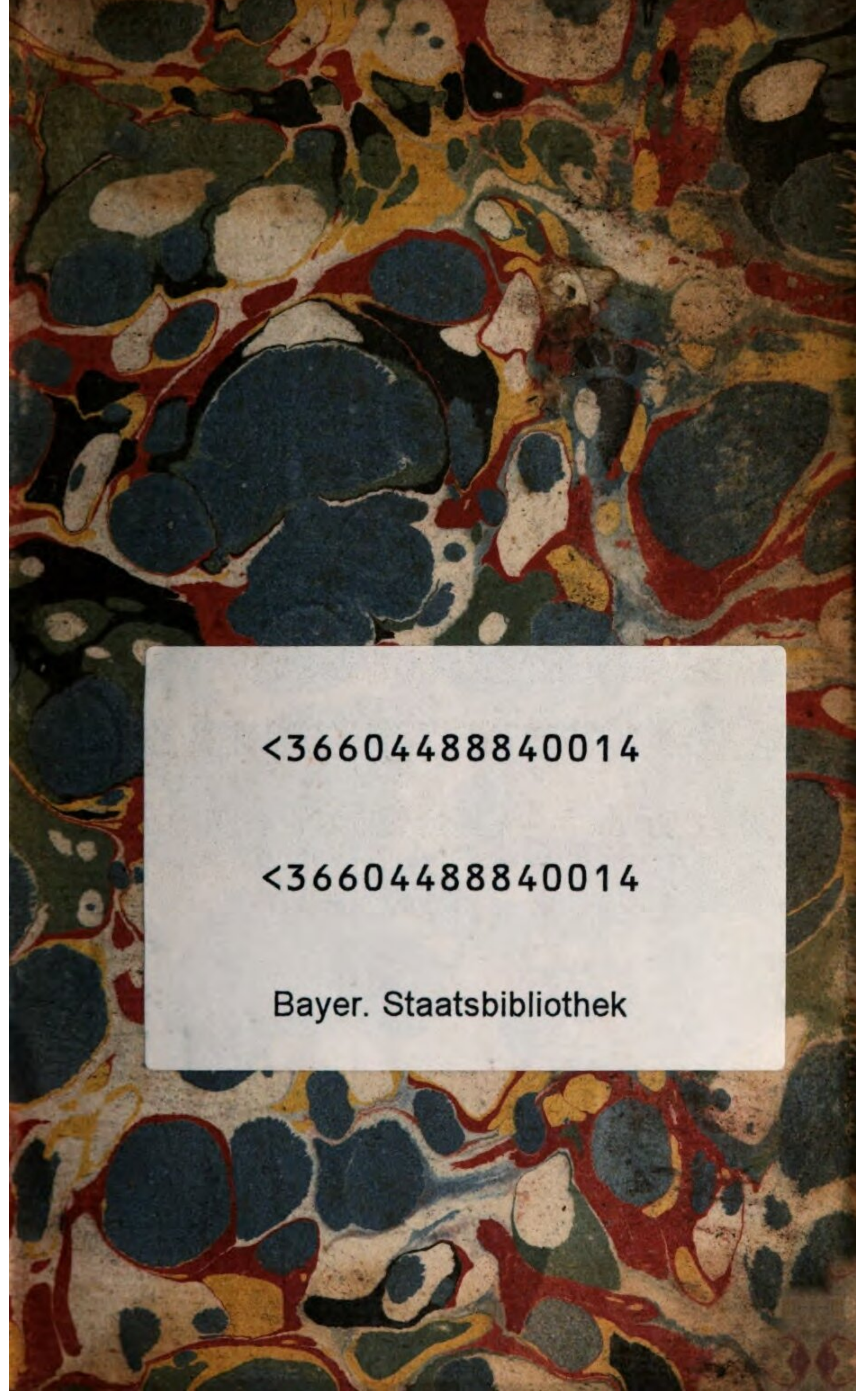






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Swift

T H E
W O R K S

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Dr. Jonathan Swift,

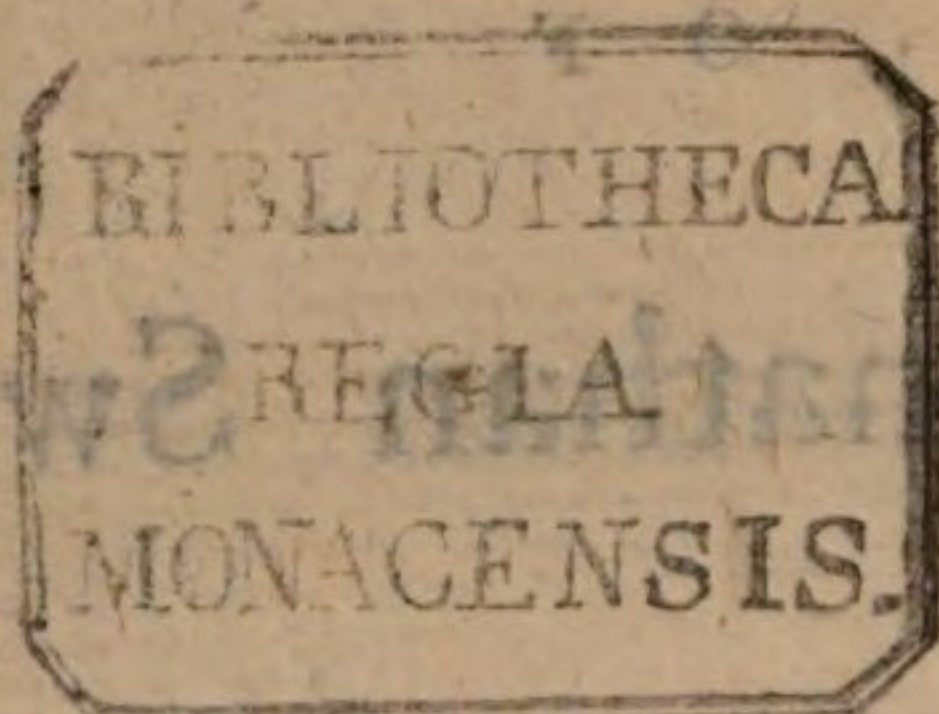
Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME X.

L O N D O N,

Printed for T. OSBORNE, W. BOWYER,
C. BATHURST, W. STRAHAN, J. RIVINGTON,
J. HINTON, L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS,
R. BALDWIN, J. DODSLEY,
S. CROWDER and Co. and B. COLLINS.

M D C C L X V.



VOLUME X

LONDON

Printed for T. Osborn, W. Bowyer,
C. Bathurst, W. Sturges, J. R.
Vinton, J. Hinton, L. Davis and C.
Rymers, R. Hadow, J. Dobson,
S. Crowder and C. and H. Collins.
MDCCLXX.

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O F

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A
P R O P O S A L [a]
FOR THE
UNIVERSAL USE
OF

IRISH MANUFACTURE, *etc.*

Written in the Year 1721.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the

[a] This treatise spread very fast; upon which a person, in great office, sent in haste for the chief justice (*Whitshed*), and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance; directing, at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.---The chief justice had so quick an understanding, that he resolved, if possible, to out-do his orders.---The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail:---the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry: the chief justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until, being tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the judge,

2 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

greatest discouragements from *England*, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been the principal care of all wise nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are so many statute-laws in *England*, we countenance so well, that the landlords are every where, by *penal clauses*, absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing [b], not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the *English*; one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from *London*, as the

by what they call a *special verdict*. During the trial, the *chief justice*, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until, upon the (d. of *G--ft-n*) the lord lieutenant's arrival, his grace, after mature advice and permission from *England*, was pleased to grant a *noli prosequi*. *Pope's works*, vol. ix. letter 5.

This piece first turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour. *Orrery*.

[b] It was the practice of *Irish* farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow; and when their leases were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that the landlords, by their zeal to prevent it, were betrayed into this pernicious measure.

cheaper market. And because people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of *Ireland* have depopulated vast tracts of the best land, for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *History of the wise men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of some *wonderful* laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true, indeed, our beneficial traffick of wool with *France* hath been our only support for several years past, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market. But our merchants assure me, *This trade hath received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France: that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.*

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our wool, in case *Barnstable* [c] should be over-stocked, and our *French* commerce should fail?

I could wish the parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of *church* matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, because

[c] A sea-port in *Devonshire*, at that time the principal market in *England* for *Irish* wool.

4 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons *principally concerned*; and, instead of these great refinements in *politicks* and *divinity*, had *amused* themselves and their committees a little with the *state of the nation*. For example: What if the house of commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation*? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed to by the house of lords: and, by their own practice and encouragement, spread the execution of it in their several countries? What if we should agree to make *burying in woollen a fashion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law*? What, if the ladies would be content with *Irish* stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken, by *male* and *female*, never to appear with one single *shred*, that comes from *England*; and let all the people say, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could please his majesty better than to hear, that his loyal subjects of both sexes, in this kingdom,

dom, [d] celebrated his *birth-day* (now approaching) *universally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to save them from the brink of ruin? If the men's opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades; and, since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chusing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late archbishop of *Tuam* mention a pleasant observation of some body's; *'at Ireland would never be happy until a law were made for burning every thing, that came from England, except their people and their coals.* I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time, we shall have no occasion for them:

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum.
But I should rejoice to see a *stay-lace* from *England* be thought *scandalous*, and become a topick for *censure* at *visits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking shop-keepers, in this town, had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some *proposal* to the *parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpose I have mentioned; promising to improve the *cloths* and *stuffs* of the nation into

[d] Her grace the dutchess of *Dorset*, the lord lieutenant's lady, is said to have appeared at the *Castle* in *Dublin* wholly clad in the manufacture of *Ireland* on his majesty's birth-day 1753.

6 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

all possible degrees of fineness and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry either as to the prices or the goodness. For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning the rascally mercers and woollen drapers would, in four and twenty hours, raise their cloths and silks to above a double price; and, if the mourning continued long, then come whining with petitions to the court, that they were ready to starve, and their fineries lay upon their hands.

I could wish, our shop-keepers would immediately think on this *proposal*, addressing it to all persons of quality and others; but first be sure to get some body who can write sense to put it into form.

I think it needless to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; because, *in a little time those among them, who are so unfortunate to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themselves abundantly happy, when they can afford Irish crape and an Athlone hat; and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have indeed, seen the present archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the rose be it spoken, his grace deserveth as good a gown, as if he had not been born among us [e].*

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to *their honours* of the

[e] Doctor KING.

army:

army: neither have I sufficiently considered the great importance of *scarlet and gold lace*.

The fable in *Ovid* of *Arachne* and *Pallas* is to this purpose. The goddesses had heard of one *Arachne*, a young virgin very famous for *spinning* and *weaving*: they both met upon a trial of skill; and *Pallas* finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knockt her *rival* down, and turned her into a spider; enjoining her to *spin and weave* for ever out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass. I confess, that from a boy I always pitied poor *Arachne*, and could never heartily love the goddess on account of so *cruel and unjust a sentence*; which however is *fully executed* upon us, by *England*, with further additions of *rigour* and *severity*, for the greatest part of our bowels and vitals is extracted without allowing us [f] the liberty of *spinning* and *weaving* them.

The scripture tells us, that *oppression maketh a wise man mad*, therefore, consequently speaking, the reason, why some men are not *mad*, is, because they are not *wise*: how-

[f] In the spring 1752, the parliament of *England* passed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any port in *Ireland* to any port in *England*: which was before prohibited. And,

In the winter 1753, the *Irish* parliament prohibited the importation of gold and silver lace, except of the manufacture of *England*.

8 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

ever, it were to be wished, that *oppression* would, in time, teach a little *wisdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a person, who hath a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, *how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland: that we convey our own wool to France in spite of all the harpies at the custom-house: that Mr. Shuttleworth, and others, on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools as to sell us their bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather: with other enormities of the like weight and kind.* To which I will venture to add more: *that the mayoralty of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby poor England loseth at least one thousand pounds a year upon the balance: that the governing of this kingdom costs the lord lieutenant three thousand six hundred pounds a year; so much net loss to poor England: that the people of Ireland presume to dig for coals in their own grounds; and the farmers, in the country of Wicklow, send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal trade of Mostyn [g] and Whitehaven: that the revenues of the Post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury, as arising chiefly from our own commerce with*

[g] Mostyn in Flintshire, and Whitehaven in Cumberland.

each

OF IRISH MANUFACTURE. 9

each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange; and the pensions paid out of the Irish revenues to English favourites should lie under the same disadvantage, to the great loss of the grantees. When a divine is sent over to a bishoprick here with the hopes of five and twenty hundred pounds a year; and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful discount of ten or twelve per cent: a judge or a commissioner of the revenue has the same cause of complaint. Lastly, The ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish manufacture; and yet is allowed to be sung in our open streets, under the very nose of the government.

These are a few, among the many hardships, we put upon that poor kingdom of *England*; for which, I am confident, every honest man wisheth a remedy: and I hear, there is a project on foot for transporting our best wheaten straw by sea and land carriage to *Dunstable*; and obliging us, by a law, to take off yearly so many tun of straw hats for the use of our women; which will be a great encouragement to the manufacture of that industrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law to bind men without their own consent be obligatory, *in foro conscientiae*; because I find, *Scripture*, *Sander-son*, and *Suarez*, are wholly silent on the matter. The oracle of *reason*, the great law of nature, and general opinion of civilians,

wherever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed decisive enough.

It is wonderful to observe the byas among our people in favour of *things, persons, and wares* of all kinds, that come from *England*. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new song just brought from London*. I have somewhat of a tendency that way myself; and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence displaying himself with great volubility upon the *park, the play-house, the opera, the gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accomplishments. It is not many years since I remember a *person*, who, by his style and literature, seems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-press in some *blind-alley* about *Little-Britain*, proceed gradually to be an *author*, at least a [*b*] *translator* of a lower rate, although somewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now *flourishes* in *Grub-street*; and upon the strength of this foundation come over *here*, erect himself up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very motive*, that prevailed on the [*i*] *author* of a play called, *Love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *honour* of a visit; presuming, with very good reason, *that he was a writer of a superior class*. I know another, who, for thirty

[*b*] Supposed to be *Cæsar's Commentaries*, dedicated to the duke of *Marlborough*, by col. *Bladen*.

[*i*] Lord *Grimston*.

years

years past, hath been the *common standard of stupidity in England*, where he was never heard a minute in any *assembly*, or by any *party* with *common christian treatment*; yet, upon his arrival hither, could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than six, without either *gracefulness, propriety, or meaning*; and, at the same time, be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence and wisdom*.

Nothing hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater disposition to a *contemptuous treatment of Ireland* in some chief *governors*, than that high style of several speeches from the *throne*, delivered as usual after the *royal assent*, in some *periods* of the two last *reigns*. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condescensions* in the prince to pass *those good laws*, would have but an odd sound at *Westminster*: neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can pass, wherein the *king's interest* is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a speech on the like occasion, delivered by my lord [k] *Wharton*, (I think it was his last) he desired Mr. *Addison* to ask my opinion on it: my answer was, *That his excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph: wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the queen*. His lordship owned it *was true*, but *swore* the words were put into his mouth by direct orders from court. From

[k] Lord lieutenant.

whence it is clear, that some *ministers*, in those times, were apt, from their *high* elevation, to look *down* upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their *colonies of outcasts in America*. And I observed a little of the same turn of spirit in *some great men*, from whom I expected better; although, to do them justice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them *correct their idea*, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit.— But that is *forgotten*. How the style hath since run, I am wholly a stranger; having never seen a speech since the last of the queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords; who, by unmeasurable *screwing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable *people* to a worse condition than the *peasants* in France, or the *vassals* in Germany and Poland; so that the whole *species*, of what we call *substantial farmers*, will, in a very few years, be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen, *labouring* with all their might for preventing the *bishops* from letting their revenues at a moderate half value (whereby [1] the whole

[1] Whereby, that is, by *preventing* the *bishops* revenues from being let at half value. See this position explained and proved in the tract called, *Arguments against enlarging the power of bishops*, vol. ix.

order

order would, in an age, have been reduced to manifest beggary) at the very instant, when they were every where *canting* [m] their own land upon short leases, and sacrificing their *oldest tenants for a penny an acre advance*. I know not how it comes to pass (and yet, perhaps, I know well enough) that *slaves* have a natural disposition to be *tyrants*, and that, when my *bettors* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *footman*; although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard *great* divines affirm, that *nothing is so likely to call down an universal judgment from heaven upon a nation, as universal oppression*; and whether this be not already verified in part, *their worships* the landlords are now at full leisure to consider. Whoever travels this country, and observes the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits, and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himself in a land, where *law, religion, or common humanity* is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town [n]. I never saw the *proposals*, nor understand any one particular of their scheme: what I wish for at present, is only a sufficient provision of *bemp*, and *caps* and *bells*, to distribute according to the

[m] *Canting* their land is letting it to the highest bidder---*cant* signifies the same as *auktion*.

[n] This project for a *bank* in *Ireland* was soon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected.

several

14 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE, *etc.*

several degrees of *honesty* and *prudence* in *some persons*. I hear only of a monstrous sum already named; and if OTHERS do not soon hear of it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of less sagacity than myself and a very few besides take me to be. And the jest will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious persons have assured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewise much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down our heavy silver.

A LET.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Farmers,
and Common People
O F
I R E L A N D,
CONCERNING THE
B R A S S - H A L F - P E N C E

Coined by one
W I L L I A M W O O D,
H A R D - W A R E - M A N,
With a *Design* to have them pass in this
Kingdom.

Wherein is shewn
The Power of his *Patent*, the Value of his
Half-pence, and how far every Person may
be obliged to take the same in Payments,
and how to behave himself, in case such an
Attempt should be made by WOOD, or any
other Person.

(Very proper to be kept in every *Family.*)

By M. B. D R A P I E R.

Written in the Year 1724.

About the year 1722, when Charles duke of Grafton was lord lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood, an hard-ware-man and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000l. to pass there as current money. The dean, believing this measure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be sharers in the profits which would arise from the ruin of a kingdom, assumed the character of a Draper, which for some reason he chose to write Drapier; and in the following LETTERS warned the people not to receive the coin which was then sent over.

BY M. A. D. R. A. P. I. E. R.

Written in the Year 1724.

L E T T E R I.

T O T H E

Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and
Country-People in General

O F T H E

KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects,

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your duty to God, and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children; your *bread* and *cloathing*, and every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you, as *men*, as *christians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others; which, that you may do at the less expence, I have ordered the *printer* to sell it at the lowest rate.

It is a great fault among you, that, when a person writes with no other intention than *to do you good*, you will not be at the pains to read his *advices*. One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that

that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or enquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago, a little book was written to advise all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear [o] country*. It had no other design, said nothing against the *king or parliament*, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor *printer* was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some *weavers* themselves (for whose sake it was written) being upon the JURY, *found him guilty*. This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and when he must expect only *danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain story of the fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country*.

The *fact* is this: It having been many years since COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGs were last coined in this kingdom, they have been, for some time, very scarce,

[o] *A proposal for the use of Irish manufactures.*

and

and many *counterfeits* passed about under the name of *raps*: several applications were made to *England*, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did: but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. WOOD, a mean ordinary man, a hard-ware-dealer, procured a *patent* under his *majesty's broad seal* to coin 108,000*l.* in *copper* for this *kingdom*; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the *half-pence* and *farthings* in *England* pass for very little more than they are worth: and, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *brazier*, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his *half-pence* of such *base-metal*, and so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a *shilling* of his; so that this sum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and silver must be given for *trash*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thousand pounds* real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may, by stealth, send over another 108,000*l.* and buy all our goods for *eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *batter* sells a dozen of *bats* for *five-shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of *five shillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how such an ordinary fellow, as this Mr. WOOD, could have

20 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

have so much interest as to get his MAJESTY'S broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own *half-pence* as we used to do. Now I will make that matter very plain; we are at a great distance from the king's *court*, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *squires*, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this same Mr. *Wood* was able to attend constantly for his own interest; he is an *Englishman*, and had great friends, and it seems knew very well *where to give money* to those, that would speak to others, that could speak to the king, and would tell a *fair story*. And *his majesty*, and, perhaps, the great lord or lords who advised him, might think it was for our *country's good*; and so, as the lawyers express it, the king was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if *his majesty* knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr. *Wood*, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given such great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and, perhaps, shew his displeasure to *some body* or *other*: but a *word to the wise is enough*. Most of you must have heard with what anger our *honourable house of commons* received an account of this *Wood's patent*. There were several *fine speeches* made upon it,

it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top*; and several *smart votes* were printed, which that same *Wood* had the assurance to answer likewise in *print*; and in so confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This *Wood*, as soon as his *patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *barrels* of *those half-pence* to *Cork*, and other sea-port towns, and to get them off, offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *seventy* or *eighty* in silver: but the *collectors* of the *king's* customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the parliament hath condemned them, and desired the *king* that they might be stopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But *Wood* is still working underhand to force his *half-pence* upon us; and, if he can, by the help of his friends in *England*, prevail so far as to get an order, that the *commissioners* and *collectors* of the *king's* money shall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them; then he thinks *his work* shall be *done*. And this is the difficulty you will be under in such a case; for the common soldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *ale-house*, will offer this money; and, if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *bector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *ale-wife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *half-pence*. In this, and the like cases, the *shopkeeper*, or *victualler*, or any other

other *tradesman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in *Wood's* money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For suppose you go to an *ale-house* with that base money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of those *half-pence*, what must the *viñtaller* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin; or, if the *brewer* should be such a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their [*p*] *bere*, because they are bound, by their leases, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the *squire*, their landlord, will never be so bewitched to take such *trash* for his land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of these *half-pence* is between four and five to an ounce; suppose five, then three shillings and four-pence will weigh a pound, and consequently twenty shillings will weigh six pounds *butter weight*. Now there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a year rent; therefore when one of these *farmers* comes with his half year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at least six hundred pound weight, which is three horses load.

[*p*] A sort of barley in *Ireland*.

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If a *squire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and spices for himself and family, or perhaps, to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses loaden with *sacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and, when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr. *Wood's* money. And, I hope, we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say *squire Conelly* [q] hath *sixteen* thousand pounds a year: now, if he sends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty *horses* to bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am assured, that some great *bankers* keep by them forty thousand pounds in ready cash to answer all payments: which sum, in Mr. *Wood's* money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it.

For my own part, I am already resolved what to do: I have a pretty good shop of *Irish* stuffs and *silks*, and, instead of taking Mr. *Wood's* bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours, the *butchers*, and *bakers* and *brewers*, and the rest, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *silver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. *Wood's* money, as

[q] Then speaker of the house of commons.

my

my father did the brass money in king *James's* time, who could buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and, I hope, to get as much for a *pistole*, and so purchase *bread* from those, who will be such fools as to sell it me.

These *half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be *counterfeited*, because it may be cheaply done, the *stuff* is so *base*. The *Dutch* likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *goods*; and Mr. *Wood* will never be at rest, but coin on; so that, in some years, we shall have at least five times 108,000*l.* of this *lumber*. Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand pounds in all; and while there is a *silver* six-pence left, these *blood-suckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *kingdom* is reduced to such a condition, I will tell you what must be the end: the *gentlemen of estates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, because, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leases to pay *sterling*, which is lawful current money of *England*: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run *all* into *sheep*, where they can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and send their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen* beyond sea for ready money, and *wine*, and *spices*, and *silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *cottagers*: the *farmers* must *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country;

try; the *shopkeepers*, in this and every other town, must *break* and *starve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *shopkeeper*, and *handicraftsman*.

But when the *squire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himself, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for *England*, and keep some poor *taylor* or *weaver*, and the like, in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *foolish* and *wicked* as to take this *curst coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* should be put into *one scale*, and this sorry fellow *Wood* into the other, that Mr. *Wood* should weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*: and that is more than the *English* do by *all the world* besides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his majesty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, so the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *subject* to take what *money* the *king* pleases; for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take *pebble-stones*, or *cockle-shells*, or *stamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we should happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might likewise, by the same power, make a *guinea* pass for *ten pounds*, a *shilling* for *twenty shillings*, and so on; by which he would, in a short time,
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get all the *silver* and *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *brass* or *leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppressive* in the *French* government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a-new at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thousandth part so wicked as this *abominable project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their subjects *silver* for *silver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this *fellow* will not so much as give us good *brass* or *copper*, for our *gold* and *silver*, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having said this much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of some great *lawyers* in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpose for your sakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good grounds.

A famous law-book, called the *Mirroure of justice, discoursing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our ancient kings, declares the law to be as follows: it was ordained, that no king of this realm should change or impair the money, or make any other money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties; that is, as my lord Coke [s] says, without the assent of parliament.*

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written,

[r] Inst. 576.

and

and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer *my lord Coke* [s]. By the laws of *England*, several metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *false metal*; the former comprehends *silver* or *gold*, the latter all *baser metals*; that the former is only to pass in payments, appears by an act of *parliament* [t] made the twentieth year of *Edward the first*, called, *The statute concerning the passing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into *English*; for some of our *laws*, at that time, were, as I am told, written in *latin*: *Whoever in buying or selling presumes to refuse an half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a contemner of the king's majesty, and cast into prison.*

By this *statute*, no person is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *king's majesty*, and for that crime to be *committed to prison*, but he who refuseth to accept the king's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I observed before, *silver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true *construction* of the *act*, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from *my lord Coke's* [u] observation upon it. By this act (says he) it appears, that no subject can be forced to take in *buying*, or *selling*, or other *payment*,

[s] 2 Inst. 576, 7.

[t] 2 Inst. 577.

[u] 2 Inst. 577.

any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *silver* or *gold*.

The law of *England* gives the king all mines of *gold* and *silver*; but not the mines of other *metals*; the reason of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my lord Coke [x] is, because money can be made of *gold* and *silver*, but not of other *metals*.

Pursuant to this opinion *half-pence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *silver*, which is evident from the act of *parliament* of *Henry* the fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great scarcity that is at present within the realm of England of half-pence and farthings of silver, it is ordained and established, that the third part of all the money of silver plate, which shall be brought to the bullion, shall be made into half-pence and farthings.* This shews, that by the words *half-penny* and *farthing* of *lawful* money in that *statute* concerning the *passing* of *pence*, is meant a small coin in *half-pence* and *farthings* of *silver*.

This is further manifest from the statute of ninth year of *Edward* the third, chap. 3. which enacts, *that no sterling half-penny or farthing be molten for to make vessels, or any other thing by the goldsmiths, nor others, upon the forfeiture of the money so molten (or melted).*

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in *England*.

[x] 2 Inst. 577.

And, by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley half-pence* were not to pass: what kind of coin these were, I do not know; but I presume they were made of *base metal*. And these acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* stands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in *Davis's reports*, who tells us, that, in the time of *Tyrone's* rebellion, queen *Elizabeth* ordered *money* of *mixed metal* to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and sent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding, that all *silver money* should be taken only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weighed. *Davis* tells us several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with; and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a *merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixt money* for goods transmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no such legal power. And, besides, it is to be considered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom* assisted from *Spain*; and whatever is done, in great exigences and dangerous times, should never be an example to proceed by in seasons of *peace* and *quietness*.

30 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *king*, and is of the *English* standard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *silver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *silver*; not only the *half-pence* or *farthings* of *England*, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or ease, that you are content to take them; because the custom of coining silver *half-pence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose on account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those *vile half-pence* of that same *Wood*, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling.

Therefore, my friends, stand to it one in all: refuse this *filthy trash*. It is no treason to rebel against Mr. *Wood*. His *majesty*, in his patent, obliges no body to take these *half-pence*: our *gracious prince* hath no such ill advisers about him; or, if he had, yet you see, the laws have not left it in the *king's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, *gold* and *silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me, in the next place, apply myself particularly to you, who are the poorer sort of *tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think,
you

you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these *half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any *silver*, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but *brass*, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *half-pence* to a shop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the *key under the door*. Do you think I will sell you a yard of *ten-penny stuff* for twenty of Mr. Wood's *half-pence*? No, not under two hundred at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I will tell you one thing further, that, if Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a *beggar* a half-penny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny will do him no more service, than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve.

In short, these *half-pence* are like the *accursed thing*, which, as the *scripture* tells us, the children of *Israel* were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the *plague*, and destroy every one who lays his hands upon them. I have heard *scholars* talk of a man, who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a *bull of brass* with fire under it: but the prince put
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the *projector* first into his *brazen bull* to make the experiment. This very much resembles the *project* of Mr. *Wood*; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. *Wood's* fate; that the *brass* he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by persons, who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these *half-pence*, that any person may expect to get a quart of *two-penny ale* for *thirty-six* of them.

I desire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them to refresh their memories, whenever they shall have farther notice of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, or any other the like imposture.

LETTER

LETTER II.

A LETTER to Mr. HARDING
the Printer.

UPON OCCASION OF
A Paragraph in his News-Paper of
August the First, 1724.

RELATING TO
Mr. WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.

I N your news-letter of the first instant there is a paragraph, dated from *London, July 25th*, relating to *Wood's* half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the shopkeepers*, etc. that this vile fellow would never be at rest; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and, therefore the kingdom requires *new* and *fresh* warning. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great measure, an imposition upon the publick; at least I hope so, because I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own news-writer; I cannot but observe from that paragraph, that this publick enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his *trash*, takes every occasion to treat this kingdom with the utmost contempt. He represents *several of our merchants and traders*, upon examination be-
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fore a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmost necessity of copper money here, before his patent; so that several gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards sealed and subscribed with their names. What then? If a physician prescribe to a patient a dram of physick, shall a rascal-apothecary cram him with a pound, and mix it up with poison? and is not a landlord's hand and seal to his own labourers a better security for five or ten shillings than *Wood's* brass, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thousand pounds?

But who are these *merchants and traders* of Ireland that made this report of the utmost necessity we are under for copper money? they are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchase a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the publick, and their own private advantages. Are not these excellent witnesses, upon whose integrity the fate of the kingdom must depend, evidences in their own cause, and sharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deserved the liberty of coining for ourselves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, is every body's wonder, as well as mine, ten thousand pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one fifth below the intrinsick value, and this sum, with the stock of half-pence we
then

then had, would have been sufficient; but *Wood*, by his emissaries, enemies to GOD and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could; and from thence the present want of change arises; to remove which by Mr. *Wood's* remedy, would be to cure a scratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But supposing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thousand pounds would be a sum fully sufficient to answer all our occasions. I am no inconsiderable shopkeeper in this town; I have discoursed with several of my own, and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and also with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two shillings in change for every family would be more than necessary in all dealings. Now, by the largest computation (even before that grievous discouragement of *agriculture* [y], which hath so much lessened our numbers) the souls, in this kingdom, are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing six to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thousand families; and, consequently, two shillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thousand pounds; whereas this *honest, liberal, hard-ware-man, Wood*, would impose upon us above *four times* that sum.

[y] Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing, see above page 2.

Your

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir Isaac Newton reported an *assay*, taken at the Tower, of Wood's metal; by which it appears, that Wood had, in all respects, performed his contract. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to be the purchasers? but they detest, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impose his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter says, than an *assay* was made of the coin. How impudent and insupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two half-pence of good metal, sends them to the Tower, and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and, probably, we come to a bargain. But, if I were to buy an hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether fat and well fleeced, by way of *pattern*, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore my money for those that were *lean*, or *skorn*, or *scabby*, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of *brick*
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in his pocket, which he shewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr. *Wood's assay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr. *Wood's* voluntary proposals for *pre-vent- ing any further objections or apprehensions*.

His first proposal is, *That whereas he hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and has copper prepared to make it up forty thousand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater quantity.*

To which if I were to answer, it should be thus: let Mr. *Wood* and his crew of *foun- ders* and *tinkers* coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe clay, or the dirt in the street, and call their trumpery by what name they please, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope, and trust, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The king has given him a patent to coin half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already shewn in my *letter to the shopkeepers*, etc. that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the subject to take any money, besides gold and silver of the right sterling and standard.

Wood further proposes (if I understand him right, for his expressions are dubious) that *he will not coin above forty thousand pounds, unless the exigences of trade require it.* First, I observe that this sum of *forty thousand pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I ask, who is to be judge, when the *exigences of trade require it?* Without doubt he means *himself*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if this project should succeed, we were never *once* consulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigences* by his own; neither will these be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices shall think they have enough: and it now appears, that he will not be content with all our gold and silver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the same coin.

I shall not enter into examination of the prices, for which he now proposes to sell his half-pence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have said enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain, that, by his own first computation, we were to pay three shillings for what was intrinsically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and standard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is so great a difference both in weight and badness in several of his coins, that some of them have been nine in

ten below the intrinsic value, and most of them six or seven.

His last proposal being of a peculiar strain and nature, deserves to be very particularly considered both on account of the matter and the style. It is as follows :

Lastly, In consideration of the direful apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will, by such coinage, drain them of their gold and silver; he proposes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no person be obliged to receive more than five-pence half-penny at one payment.

First, observe this little impudent *hardware-man* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehensions of a whole kingdom*, priding himself as the cause of them, and daring to prescribe (what no king of *England* ever attempted) how far a whole nation shall be obliged to take his brass coin. And he has reason to insult: for sure there was never an example in history of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter destruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thousand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant mechanick.

But to go on: to remove our *direful apprehensions*, that he will drain us of our gold and silver by his coinage, this little arbitrary *mock-monarch* most graciously offers to take *our manufactures in exchange*. Are our *Irish*

understandings indeed so low in his opinion? Is not this the very misery we complain of; that his cursed project will put us under the necessity of **selling** our goods for what is equal to *nothing*? How would such a proposal sound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other country with which we traffick, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we should take their money at ten times higher than the intrinseck value? Does Mr. *Wood* think, for instance, that we will sell him a stone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth *six-pence*, when we can send it to *England*, and receive as many shillings in gold and silver? Surely there was never heard such a compound of impudence, villainy, and folly.

His proposals conclude with perfect *high treason*. He promises, that *no person shall be obliged to receive more than five-pence half-penny of his coin in one payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to *oblige every subject*, in this kingdom, to take so much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his patent *obliges* no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim such a power, as I have often observed; so that here Mr. *Wood* takes upon him the *entire legislature*, and an absolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's *advisers*? who are his *supporters*, *abetters*, *encouragers*, or *sharers*? Mr. *Wood* will *oblige* me to take five-pence half-penny of his brass

in every payment. And I will shoot Mr. *Wood*, and his deputies, through the head, like *highwaymen* or *house-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loss of honour to submit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think, with patience, of being devoured alive by a *rat*? He has laid a tax, upon the people of *Ireland*, of seventeen shillings at least in the pound: a tax, I say, not only upon lands, but interest-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants. Shopkeepers, look to yourselves! *Wood* will *oblige* and force you to take five-pence half-penny of his trash in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or else you can hardly find bread: and pray consider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five-pence half-penny is nine shillings and two-pence, which is above an hundred and sixty pounds a year, wherein you will be losers of at least one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on such conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money perish with him*. If the famous Mr. *Hambden* rather chose to go to prison, than pay a few shillings to king *Charles* the first, without authority of parliament; I will rather chuse to be *hanged*, than have all my

substance taxed at seventeen shillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleasure of the venerable Mr. *Wood*.

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to say, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) *No evidence appeared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the mischiefs complained of, or any abuses whatsoever committed in the execution of the said grant.*

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. First, the house of commons in *Ireland*, which represents the whole people of the kingdom, and secondly, the privy-council, addressed his majesty against these half-pence: what could be done more to express the universal sense of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a committee of the whole house of commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr. *Wood*? To what end did the king give his patent for coining half-pence in *Ireland*? Was it not, because it was represented to his sacred majesty, that such a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his subjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his representation be false, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer
of

of three or fourscore thousand pounds to himself? Before he was at the charge of passing a patent, much more of raking up so much filthy dross, and stamping it with his majesty's *image and superscription*, should he not first, in common sense, in common equity, and common manners, have consulted the principal party concerned; that is to say, the people of the kingdom, the house of lords, or commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner should ask us, *whose image and superscription there is on Wood's coin?* we should be ashamed to tell him, it was *Cæsar's*. In that great want of copper half-pence which he alledges we were, our city set up *our Cæsar's* [z] statue in excellent copper at an expence that is equal in value to thirty thousand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worse metal.

I observe many of our people putting a melancholy case on this subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone if *Wood's* half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if his majesty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath often been dinned in my ears. But I desire my countrymen to be assured, that there is nothing in it. The king never issues out a *proclamation* but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not issue out a *proclamation* against law; or, if such a thing should happen by a mis-

[z] An equestrian statue of George I, at *Essex-bridge, Dublin*.

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take, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Besides, his majesty will never command us by a *proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itself. There he leaves it to our discretion; so that our destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a *proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet, upon this occasion, will be of no force. The king's revenues here are near four hundred thousand pounds a year. Can you think his ministers will advise him to take them in *Wood's* brags, which will reduce the value to fifty thousand pounds? *England* gets a million *sterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing: and do you think those, who live in *England* upon *Irish* estates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in *Wood's* dross?

If *Wood* and his *confederates* were not convinced of our stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an enterprize. He now sees a spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about *watching* when to *devour* us. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last, out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with opposition, we shall be forced to yield: and therefore, I confess, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your spirits and resentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and
that,

that, if you go forwards, you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, must I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts waxed gross?* are *their ears dull of hearing?* and have *they closed their eyes?* I fear there are some few *vipers* among us, who, for ten or twenty pounds gain, would sell their souls and their country; although at last, it should end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm be never so wisely.*

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no interest in this affair, but what is common to the publick: I can live better than many others: I have some gold and silver by me, and a shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a shift, when many of my betters are starving. But I am grieved to see the coldness and indifference of many people, with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a *proclamation*; others shrug up their shoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they shall fare no worse than their neighbours. Will a man, who hears midnight robbers at his door, get out of bed and raise his family for a common defence; and shall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* comes, at the head of his *confederates,*

rates, to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our posterity for ever? If a highway-man meets you on the road, you give him your money to save your life; but, God be thanked, Mr. *Wood* cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your side: when he or his accomplices offer you his dross, it is but saying *No*, and you are safe. If a mad man should come into my shop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of stuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr. *Wood* comes to demand my gold and silver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and silver, in exchange for his trash, can he deserve or expect better treatment?

When the *evil day* is come (if it must come) let us mark and observe those, who presume to offer these half-pence in payment. Let their names, and trades, and places of abode, be made publick, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the first honest discoverer give the word about, that Mr. *Wood's* half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted

to say all that this melancholy subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one propofal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this destructive project at once. Let some skilful, judicious pen draw up an *advertifement* to the following purpose:

Whereas one William Wood, hard-ware-man, now, or lately sojourning in the city of London, hath, by many misrepresentations, procured a patent for coining an hundred and eight thousand pounds in copper half-pence for this kingdom; which is a sum five times greater than our occasions require: And whereas it is notorious, that the said Wood hath coined his half-pence of such base metal, and false weight, that they are at least six parts in seven below the real value: And whereas we have reason to apprehend, that the said Wood may, at any time hereafter, clandestinely coin as many more half-pence as he pleases: And whereas the said patent neither doth, nor can oblige his majesty's subjects to receive the said half-pence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice; because, by law, the subject cannot be obliged to take any money, except gold or silver: And whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the said patent, the said Wood hath declared, that every person shall be obliged to take five-pence half-penny of his coin in every payment: And whereas the house of commons, and privy-council, have severally addressed
D 6 his

his most sacred majesty, representing the ill consequences which the said coinage may have upon this kingdom: And, lastly, whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole nation to a man (except Mr. Wood, and his confederates) are in the utmost apprehensions of the ruinous consequences that must follow from the said coinage; Therefore we, whose names are underwritten, being persons of considerable estates in this kingdom, and residents therein, do unanimously resolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or half-penny of the said Wood's coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuse the said coin from any person whatsoever; of which that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a copy of this advertisement to be read to them by our stewards, receivers, etc.

I could wish, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom; and printed copies thereof sent to their several tenants. I am deceived if any thing could sooner defeat this execrable design of Wood, and his accomplices. This would immediately give the alarm, and set the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage to the meanest tenant and cottager. How long, O Lord, righteous and true, etc.

I must tell you in particular, Mr. Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred persons have enquired at your house for my Letter to the shopkeepers, etc. and you had

had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that Letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every news-paper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I desire you likewise to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your servant,

M. B.

Aug. 4, 1724.

LETTER

L E T T E R III.

S O M E

O B S E R V A T I O N S

Upon a Paper, called

The Report of the Committee

O F T H E

Most Honourable the Privy Council in
E N G L A N D,

Relating to WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.

T O T H E

NOBILITY and GENTRY of the Kingdom
of I R E L A N D.

HAVING already written *two letters* to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very pressing occasion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly address it than to your *lordships* and *worships*.

The occasion is this: a printed paper was sent to me on the 18th instant, entitled, *A report of the committee of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council in England, relating to Mr. Wood's half-pence and farthings.*

farthings. There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I suppose it to have been in *Dublin*: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London journal*, or some other print of no authority or consequence. And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of some printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publishing something upon a subject, which now employs all our thoughts in this *kingdom*. Mr. *Wood*, in publishing this paper, would insinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit, and private emolument, than for the honour of the *privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it seems intended as a vindication of Mr. *Wood*, not without several severe reflexions on the houses of *lords* and *commons* of *Ireland*.

The whole is, indeed, written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a dispute between *William Wood* on the one part, and the *lords justices, privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament* on the other: the design of it being to clear *William Wood*, and to charge the other side with casting rash and groundless aspersions upon him.

But, if it be really what the title imports, Mr. *Wood* hath treated the *committee* with great rudeness by publishing an act of theirs in so unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the
govern-

government and privy-council of Ireland ; to whom the committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in *England* is *hitherto* a law in either *kingdom* ; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains disputable by every subject.

This (may it please your *lordships* and *worships*) may seem a strange way of discoursing in an *illiterate shopkeeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that small portion of reason God hath been pleased to give me ; and when reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for instance, if any lawyer should tell me that such a point were law, from which many gross palpable absurdities must follow ; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* should positively assert (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited prince*, could by his *prerogative*, oblige his subjects to take half an ounce of lead, stamped with his image, for twenty shillings in gold, I should swear he was *deceived*, or a *deceiver* ; because a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch ; yet this, in effect, is what *Wood* hath advanced in some of his papers ; and what suspicious people may possibly apprehend from some passages in that, which is called *The Report*.

That

That paper mentions *such persons to have been examined, who were desirous and willing to be heard upon this subject*. I am told they were four in all: *Coleby, B—, Mr. Finley* the banker, and one more, whose name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the treasury in *Ireland*: and, though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every person in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, since I have gone so far as to mention particular persons, it may be some satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himself, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almost two years together. I find he is in the patent entitled *esquire*, although he were understood to be only a *hardware-man*; and so I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'squire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in *Shropshire*; where, pretending to have been robbed, and suing the county, he was cast, and, for the infamy of the fact, lost his employment.

I have heard another story of this *'squire Wood* from a very honourable lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was sent for six years ago, by *Sir Isaac Newton*, to try the coinage of four men, who then solicited a patent for coining half-pence for *Ireland*; their names were *Wood, Costor, Elliston, and Parker*. *Parker* made the fairest offer, and *Wood* the worst; for his coin were three half-pence in a pound weight less value than the other.

other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he solicited his patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged, in the said paper called *The Report*, that, upon repeated orders from a secretary of state for sending over such papers and witnesses, as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent (by both houses of parliament) the lord lieutenant represented the great difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these orders: that none of the principal members of both houses, who were in the king's service, or council, would take upon them to advise, how any material person, or papers, might be sent over on this occasion, etc. And this is often repeated, and represented as a proceeding that seems very extraordinary, and that in a matter, which had raised so great a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland; especially, that the chief difficulty should arise from a general apprehension of a miscarriage, in an enquiry before his majesty, or in a proceeding by due course of law, in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the most solemn manner.

How shall I, a poor ignorant shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in law, be able to answer so weighty an objection? I will try what can be

be done by plain reason, unassisted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole case, by calling the united sense of both *houses of parliament in Ireland* an *universal clamour*. Here the addresses of the lords and commons of *Ireland* against a ruinous, destructive project of an *obscure, single undertaker*, is called a *clamour*. I desire to know, how such a style would be resented in *England* from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many *impeachments* would follow upon it? But, supposing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise minister, who despised the *universal clamour* of a people; and, if that *clamour* can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent practice of a single person, the purchase is not exorbitant.

But in answer to this objection: first it is manifest, that if this coinage had been in *Ireland*, with such limitations as have been formerly specified in other patents, and granted to persons of this *kingdom*, or even of *England*, able to give sufficient security, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr. *Knox's* patent mentioned in the *report*, security was given into the *Exchequer*, that the *patentee* should, upon all demands, be obliged to receive his *half-pence* back, and pay gold or silver in exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom I suppose that patent was made over) was, in 1694, forced to leave
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off coining before the end of that year, by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698, he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same reason. This entirely alters the case; for there is no such condition in *Wood's* patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatsoever.

Put the case, that the two houses of *lords* and *commons of England*, and the *privy-council* there, should address his majesty to recall a *patent*, from whence they apprehended the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it stronger, if possible, that the whole nation, almost to a man, should thereupon discover the *most dismal apprehensions* (as *Mr. Wood* styles them); would his majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any minister dare advise him against recalling such a patent? or would the matter be referred to the *privy-council*, or to *Westminster-hall*; the two houses of *parliament* plaintiffs, and *William Wood* defendant? and is there even the smallest difference between the two cases?

Were not the people of *Ireland* born as *free* as those of *England*? how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their *parliament* as fair a *representative* of the *people* as that of *England*? and hath not their *privy-council* as great, or a greater share in the administration of publick affairs? are not they subjects of the same king? does not the same *sun* shine upon them? and have they
not

not the same God for their protector? am I a *freeman* in *England*, and do I become a *slave* in six hours by crossing the channel? No wonder then if the boldest persons were cautious to interpose in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation; or to presume to represent the representatives of the kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a treatment as they would deserve at the next session. It would seem very extraordinary, if an inferiour court in *England* should take a matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it against the opinion of both houses.

It happens however, that, although no persons were so bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made against this *patent* by the *high court of parliament* here, yet these objections stand good, notwithstanding the answers made by Mr. *Wood* and his *council*.

The *report* says, that, *upon an assay made of the fineness, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article*. This is possible enough in the pieces upon which the *assay* was made; but *Wood* must have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a sufficient quantity of such *half-pence* as would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of several parcels*; since it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his side.

But

But what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive demonstration of *Wood's* fraudulent practices in this point. I have seen a large quantity of these *half-pence* weighed by a very skilful person, which were of four different kinds, three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between these four sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and, in the whole, the publick will be a loser of eighty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, even supposing the metal, in point of goodness, to answer *Wood's* contract, and the *assay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewise been enquired into by very experienced men; who, upon several trials on many of these *half-pence*, have found them to be at least one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his *accomplices*, have already made of *his own coin*, and scattered about. Now the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lightest sort of his *half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thousand four hundred eighty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings;

shillings ; and, if we subtract a fourth part of the real value by the *base mixture* in the metal, we must add to the publick loss one fourth part to be subtracted from the intrinsic value of the copper ; which in three hundred and sixty tons amounts to ten thousand and eighty pounds ; and this, added to the former sum of eighty-two thousand one hundred sixty eight pounds, sixteen shillings, will make in all ninety-two thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds loss to the publick ; besides the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *drofs* exclusive or inclusive with his three hundred and sixty tons of copper : which, however, will make a considerable difference in the account.

You will here please to observe, that the profit allowed to *Wood*, by the patent, is twelve pence out of every pound of copper valued at 1*s.* 6*d.* whereas 5*d.* only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the *English half-pence* ; and this difference is almost 25 per cent. which is double to the highest exchange of money, even under all the additional pressures and obstructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at present. This one circumstance, in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty pounds between *English* and *Irish half-pence*, even allowing those of *Wood* to be all of the heaviest sort.

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It is likewise to be considered, that for every *half-penny* in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, *Wood* will be a gainer, in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, sixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers easy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that *these half-pence far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his majesty's predecessors*: there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true; which, however, is altogether mistaken, not by any fault in the *committee*, but by the fraud and imposition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worst patterns he could find; such as were coined in small numbers by *permission to private men*, as *butchers, half-pence, black-dogs*, and others the like; or, perhaps, the small *St. Patrick's* coin, which passeth now for a farthing, or at best some of the smallest *raps* of the latest kind. For I have now by me *half-pence* coined, in the year 1680, by virtue of the patent granted to my lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*, and they are heavier by a ninth part than those of *Wood*, and of much better metal; and the great *St. Patrick's half-pence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the present debate? If, under the various exigences of former times by wars, rebellions, and insurrections,
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the kings of *England* were sometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixt or base money; God forbid that the necessities of turbulent times should be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and settlement.

In the *patent* abovementioned, granted to lord *Dartmouth*, in the reign of king *Charles* the second, and renewed to *Knox*, the securities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy against all inconveniencies: and the *copper* was coined in our kingdom; so that we were in no danger to purchase it with the loss of all our silver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to *England* for the redressing any abuse.

That the kings of *England* have exercised their prerogative of coining copper for *Ireland* and for *England*, is not the present question: but, to speak in the style of the *report*, it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a king should think fit to exercise his prerogative by coining copper in *Ireland* to be current in *England*, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reasonable, and whether the people desired it or no, and without regard to the addresses of his parliament against it. God forbid, that so mean a man as I should meddle with the king's prerogative: but I have heard very wise men say, that the king's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people.

ple. I desire to know whether it be not understood and avowed, that the good of *Ireland* was intended by this *patent*? But *Ireland* is not consulted at all in the matter; and, as soon as *Ireland* is informed of it, *they* declared against it: the *two houses of parliament* and the *privy-council* address his majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a *patent*; the *privy-council* in *England* take the matter out of the *parliament's* cognizance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can suppose, that such *patents* as these were originally granted with a view of being a *jobb* for the interest of a particular person to the damage of the publick. Whatever profit must arise to the *patentee*, was surely meant at best but as a secondary motive; and since somebody must be a gainer, the choice of the person was made either by favour or *something else*, or by the pretence of merit and honesty: this argument returns so often and strongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his majesty, when he consented to the passing of this *patent*, conceived he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of *Ireland*, without any regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *instrument*: but the people of *Ireland* think this *patent* (intended, no doubt, for their good) to be a most intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never succeed

ceed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred, not only before the *interest*, but the very *safety* and *being* of a great kingdom; and a kingdom distinguished for its loyalty, perhaps, above all others upon earth; nor turned from its duty by the *jurisdiction* of the *house of lords* abolished at a stroke by the *hardships* of the *act of navigation* newly enforced, by all possible *obstructions* in trade, and by a hundred other instances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the least attempt towards an insurrection in favour of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever justice a *free people* can claim, we have at least an *equal* title to it with our brethren in *England*; and whatever grace a good prince can bestow on the most *loyal subjects*, we have reason to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one *single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious* projector.

Among other clauses mentioned in this *patent* to shew how advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which seems to be of a *singular nature*: that the *patentee* shall be obliged, during his term, to *pay eight hundred pounds a year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a year to the comptroller*. I have heard indeed, that the king's council do always consider, in the passing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewise heard, that it is, at the same time, considered, whether the passing of it may be injurious to any other persons or bo-

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dies politick ? However, although the *attorney* and *solicitor* be servants to the king, and therefore bound to consult his majesty's interest ; yet I am under some doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thousand pounds a year into his majesty's coffers in the midst of all our taxes (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the war) than purchase such an addition to the revenue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thousand pounds are to be paid by *Wood* only as a *small, circumstantial* charge for the purchase of his *patent* : what were his other *visible costs* I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variously conjectured ; but he must be surely a man of some wonderful merit. Hath he saved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of re-imbursing himself by the *destruction* of ours ? Hath he discovered the *longitude* or the *universal medicine* ? No ; but he hath found the *philosopher's stone* after a new manner, by the *debasing* of *copper*, and resolving to force it upon us for *gold*.

When the two houses represented to his majesty, that this *patent* to *Wood* was obtained in a clandestine manner, surely the committee could not think the parliament would insinuate that it had not passed in the common forms, and run through every office
where

where fees and perquisites were due. They knew very well, that persons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late [a] *lord lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed, it was a *secret* to him; and who will doubt of his *veracity*, especially when he swore to a person of quality, from whom I had it, that *Ireland* should never be troubled with these *half-pence*? It was a *secret* to the people of *Ireland*, who were to be the *only sufferers*; and those who best know the state of the kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an affair, were wholly strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was passed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of *Ireland*: and it is there elaborately shewn, that *former patents have passed in the same manner*, and are good in law. I shall not dispute the legality of *patents*, but am ready to suppose it in his majesty's power to grant a *patent* for stamping round bits of copper to every subject he hath. Therefore, to lay aside the point of law, I would only put the question, whether in *reason* and *justice* it would not have been proper, in an affair upon which the *welfare of the kingdom depends*, that the said kingdom should have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the *patentee* and the *officers of the crown*, who were to be the only gainers by it.

[a] Duke of Grafton.

The *parliament*, who in matters of this nature are the most able and faithful counsellors, did represent this grant to be *destructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people*: to which the only answer is, that *the king hath a prerogative to make such a grant*.

It is asserted, that, in the patent to *Knox*, his *half-pence were made and declared the current coin of the kingdom*; whereas, in this to *Wood* there is only a *power given to issue them to such as will receive them*. The authors of the *report*, I think, do not affirm, that the king can, by *law*, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patents. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if *Knox's* patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his majesty's *just and merciful reign*? But although that clause be not in *Wood's* patent, yet possibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted, and particularly that, whereby *a power is given to William Wood to break into houses in search of any coin made in imitation of his*. This may, perhaps, be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the subject; yet this is a *precedent* taken from *Knox's* patent, where the same power is granted; and is a strong instance, what uses may be sometimes made of *precedents*.

But although, before the passing of this patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any persons of this kingdom, or make

the least enquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us ; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long passed, when *Wood* hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *six times* as much more, the committee hath been pleased to make this affair the subject of enquiry ; *Wood* is permitted to produce his evidences, which consist, as I have already observed, of four in number, whereof *Coleby*, *B—*, and Mr. *Finley* the banker are three. And these were to prove, that copper money was extremely wanted in *Ireland*. The first had been out of the kingdom almost twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treasury* ; and therefore his *knowledge* and *credibility* are equal. Mr. *Finley*, one of the other witnesses, honestly confessed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted copper money or no ; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from *Wood* at a *large discount*, and sell them as well as he could ; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand pounds for himself.

But suppose there were not one single half-penny of copper coin in this whole kingdom (which Mr. *Wood* seems to intend, unless we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emissaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the shilling more than they pass for) it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might be some *inconvenience*. We have many sorts of small silver coins, to which
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they are strangers in *England*; such as the *French three-pences, four-pence half-pennies,* and *eight-pence farthings,* the *Scotch five-pences* and *ten-pences,* besides their *twenty-pences* and *three and four-pences,* by which we are able to make change to a half-penny of almost any piece of gold or silver; and, if we are driven to the expedient of a *sealed card,* with the little gold and silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood's* adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent,* nor *HITHERTO* able by his *estate,* to make good.

The *report* farther tells us, it *must be admitted,* that *letters patents,* under the great seal of Great Britain, for coining copper-money for Ireland are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of his majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory or invasive of any liberty or privilege of his subjects of Ireland. First, we desire to know, why his majesty's prerogative might not have been as well asserted by passing this patent in *Ireland,* and subjecting the several conditions of the contract to the inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, since the mixt money in queen *Elizabeth's* time during the difficulties of a rebellion: whereas now, upon the greatest imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to *Eng-*
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land with our complaints; where it hath been, for some time, the fashion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly used*. Again, the *report* says, that *such patents are obligatory*. After long thinking, I am not able to find out, what can possibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or, if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can *oblige* the subject against law; unless an illegal patent passed in *one* kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

Lastly, it is added, that *such patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of the king's subjects of Ireland*. If this proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of *England* may, at any time, coin copper money for *Ireland*, and oblige his subjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practised by the late king *James*; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuse from the necessity and exigences of his affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor invasive of any liberties or privileges of the subjects of Ireland*, it ought to have been expressed what our *liberties and privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for in specifying the word *Ireland*, instead of saying *his majesty's subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same foot with

with our fellow subjects in *England*; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that *Poining's* act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of passing laws here (which however was a *power* most indirectly obtained) by leaving the negative to the two houses of parliament. But, waving all controversies relating to the legislature, no person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm, that the people of *Ireland* have not the same title to the benefits of the *common law* with the rest of his majesty's subjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of *England* enjoy by *common law*, we of *Ireland* have the same; so that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland* standing in that proposition was, in the mildest interpretation, a *lapse of the pen*.

The report farther asserts, that *the precedents are many, wherein cases of great importance to Ireland, and which immediately affected the interests of that kingdom, such as warrants, orders, and directions by the authority of the king and his predecessors, have been issued under the royal sign manual without any previous reference or advice of his majesty's officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed.* It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal source of discontent. However, among all these *prece-*
dents,

dents, there is not one of a patent for coining money for *Ireland*.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a jobb is to be done, and upon searching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to justify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*; without ever considering the motives and circumstances that first introduced them; the necessity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of ministers, or the arbitrary disposition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told, by persons eminent in the law, that the worst actions, which human nature is capable of, may be justified by the same doctrine. How the first *precedents* began of determining cases of the highest importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting its interests, without any previous reference or advise to the king's officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the submission of *Tyrone* in the last year of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various scene of war and peace between the *English pale* and the *Irish* natives; and the government of that part of this island, which lay in the *English* hands, was, in many things, under the immediate administration of the king: silver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at least, upon great necessity, a mixt or base metal was sent from *England*.
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The reign of king *James I*, was employed in settling the kingdom after *Tyrone's* rebellion; and this nation flourished extremely till the time of the massacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs, the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in *Dublin*.

By all that I can discover, the copper coin of *Ireland*, for three hundred years past, consisted of small pence and half-pence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and districts, according to the personal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many sorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for *Ireland*, till the reign of king *Charles* the second, which was in the year 1680, to *George Leg* lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by king *James* the second, in the first year of his reign (1685) to *John Knox*. Both patents were passed in *Ireland*; and, in both, the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or silver.

The patents both of lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox* were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already said, were passed in this kingdom. *Knox* had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to lord *Dartmouth*; the patent expired in 1701, and, upon

upon a petition by *Roger Moor*, to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and, upon the report of the attorney and solicitor, that it was not for his majesty's service, or the interest of the nation to have it renewed, it was rejected by king *William*. It should therefore seem very *extraordinary*, that a patent for coining copper half pence, intended and professed for the good of the kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poor, private, obscure mechanick*; and a patent of such a nature, that, as soon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it as *ruinous and destructive*. The representatives of the nation in parliament, and the privy-council, address the king to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private interest shall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. *St. Paul* says, *All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient*. We are answered, that this patent is *lawful*: but is it *expedient*? We read, that the high priest said, *It was expedient that one man should die for the people*; and this was a most wicked proposition; but that a *whole nation should die for one man*, was never heard of before.

But because much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper*

for *Ireland*, I will set this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at least could be produced of copper coined for *Ireland* by virtue of patents passed in *England*; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* shewn of a patent passed in *England* for coining copper for *Ireland* for above an hundred years past; and if there were any before, it must be in times of confusion. The only *patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned to lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare these patents with that granted to *Wood*. First, the patent to *Knox*, which was under the same conditions as that granted to lord *Dartmouth*, was passed in *Ireland*; the government and the *attorney* and *solicitor general* making report, that it would be useful to this kingdom.

The patent was passed with the advice of the *king's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from those who thought themselves furcharged, and to give gold and silver for it. Lastly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; first, I find the *half-pence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great use to prevent counterfeits (and therefore industriously avoided by *Wood*) so it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and

and goodness of the metal, I have several *half-pence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than those coined by *Wood*; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impression is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to some of *Wood's* by a *fraud* natural to such *patentees*; but not so immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumstance Mr. *Wood* must serve for a *precedent* in *future times*.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to *William Wood*. It passed upon very false suggestions of his own, and of a few confederates: it passed in *England* without the least reference hither; it passed unknown to the very *lord lieutenant*, then in *England*. *Wood* is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thousand pounds, *and all the officers in the kingdom* (civil and military) *are commanded*, in the report, to *countenance and assist him*. *Knox* had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged to *receive his coin back again at our demand*, and to *enter into security for so doing*. *Wood's* half-pence are not *milled*, and therefore more easily counterfeited by *himself*, as well as by others. *Wood* pays a thousand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years; *Knox* paid only sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the *report*, that set me the example of making a comparison between those two

patents, wherein the *committee* was grossly misled by the false representation of *William Wood*; as it was by another assertion, that seven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty-one years of lord *Dartmouth's* and *Knox's* patents. Such a quantity of copper, at the rate of two shillings and eight-pence *per* pound, would amount to about an hundred and ninety thousand pounds; which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet during that period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much copper coin; and for several years there was no coining at all: besides, I am assured, that, upon enquiring in the custom-house-books, all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty-one (besides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-seven tons. And we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: so that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the design for which it was produced.

The *psalmist* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he selleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them*. That we have greatly offended God by the wickedness of our lives, is not to be disputed: but our king we have not offended in word or deed; and although he be God's vicerent upon earth, he will not punish us for any offences, except those we shall commit against his legal autho-

authority, his sacred person (which God preserve), or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuse in arguments, that *Ireland* is in great want of copper money: who were the witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be *judges*? Does not the nation best know its own wants? Both houses of *parliament*, the *privy-council*, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by Mr. *Wood*: we know our own wants but too well; they are *many*, and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let *England* be satisfied; as things go, they will, in a short time, have all our gold and silver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchase it with our manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciously offered to accept. Our *wants* are not so bad by an hundredth part as the method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his faculty in *New-England*; and I hope, he will meet at least with an *equal reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to publick intelligence. I am supposing a wild case; that, if there should be any person already receiving a monstrous pension out of this kingdom, who was instrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well consulted their own interests, or *Wood* must put more dross into his copper, and still diminish its weight.

Upon *Wood's* complaint, that the officers of the king's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the *report* says, that *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding*, and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The *committee* say, they *cannot advise his majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the said coin, as hath been desired in the addresses of both houses*; but, on the contrary, they think it both just and reasonable, that the king should immediately give orders to the commissioners of the revenue, etc. to revoke all orders, etc. that may have been given by them to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said coin. And accordingly, we are told, such orders are arrived. Now this was a cast of *Wood's* politicks; for his information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well; and that the commissioners of the revenue here were all, except one, sent us from *England*, and love their employments too well to have taken such a step: but *Wood* was wise enough to consider, that such orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour; would put the government here under a difficulty; would make a noise, and possibly create some terror in the poor people of *Ireland*. And one great point he hath gained, that although any orders of revocation will be needless, yet a new order is to be sent (and, perhaps, is already here) to
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the commissioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in Ireland, that *Wood's half-pence* be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial, of any of the king's officers or ministers whatsoever, to pass, and be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive them. In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all officers, both civil and military, from the lord high chancellor to a justice of peace, and from the general to an ensign; so that *Wood's* project is not likely to fail for want of managers enough. For my own part, as things stand, I have but little regret to find myself out of the number; and therefore I shall continue, in all humility, to exhort and warn my fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger steps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The matter is come to an issue. His majesty, pursuant to the law, hath left the field open between *Wood* and the kingdom of Ireland. *Wood* hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have law, reason, liberty, and necessity to refuse it. A knavish jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words voluntary, and willing to receive it, will be understood and applied in their true natural meaning, as commonly understood by protestants.

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stants. For if a *fierce captain* comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a sack of *Wood's* coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my scarlet lies ready out upon the counter; if he then gives me the *word of command* to receive my money in *Wood's* coin, and calls me a *disaffected, jacobite dog*, for refusing it (although I am as loyal a subject as himself, and *without hire*) and thereupon seizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this case I shall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I shall therefore, on such occasions, first order the porter aforesaid to go off with his pack; and then see the money in *silver* and *gold* in my possession, before I cut or measure my cloth. But if a *common soldier* drinks his pot first, and then offers payment in *Wood's half-pence*, the *landlady* may be under some difficulty; for if she complains to his *captain* or *ensign*, they are likewise *officers* included in this general order for encouraging these *half-pence* to pass as *current money*. If she goes to a *justice of peace*, he is also an *officer*, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content for some reasons, that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; because I have heard it
said,

said, that their discipline is best confined within their own district.

His majesty, in the conclusion of his answer to the address of the house of lords against *Wood's* coin, is pleased to say, that *he will do every thing in his power to the satisfaction of his people.* It should seem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be understood as a thing *in his power.* But however, since the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and, consequently, the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom should continue in a firm, determinate resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal coin.* After which, let the *officers*, to whom these orders are directed (I would willingly except the *military*) come with their *exhortations*, their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to persuade us to find our interest in our undoing. Let *Wood* and his *accomplices* travel about the country with *cart loads* of their *ware*, and see who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a *highwayman* would scorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commissioners* of the *revenue* will proceed in this juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged, by act of parliament, to take nothing but *gold* and *silver* in payment for his majesty's *customs*: and, I think, they cannot justly offer this coinage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

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The sum of the whole is this: The *committee* advises the king to send immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, etc. to pass, and to be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive the same. It is probable, that the first willing receivers may be those, who must receive it whether they will or no; at least under the penalty of losing an office. But the landed undependg men, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the consequence be? The owners will sell it for as much as they can get. *Wood's half-pence* will come to be offered for six a penny (yet then he will be a sufficient gainer) and the necessary receivers will be losers of two thirds in their salaries or pay.

This puts me in mind of a passage I was told many years ago in *England*. At a quarter-session in *Leicester*, the justices had wisely decreed to take off a *half-penny* in a quart from the price of ale. One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus: *Gentlemen, you have made an order, that ale should be sold, in our county, for three half-pence a quart; I desire you will now make another to appoint who must drink it; for by G—— I will not.*

I must beg leave to caution your lordships and worships in one particular. *Wood* hath graciously

graciously promised to *load* us, at present, only with forty thousand pounds of his coin, *until the exigencies of the kingdom require the rest*. I intreat you will suffer Mr. *Wood* to be a judge of your *exigencies*. While there is one piece of *silver* or *gold* left in the kingdom, he will call it an *exigency*. He will double his present *quantum*, by stealth, as soon as he can; he will pour his own *raps* and *counterfeits* upon us; *France* and *Holland* will do the same; nor will our own coiners, at home, be behind them: to confirm which, I have now, in my pocket, a *rap*, or counterfeit half-penny, in imitation of his; but so ill performed, that, in my conscience, I believe it is not of his coining.

I must now desire your *lordships* and *worships*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigested paper. I find myself to have gone into several repetitions, which were the effects of haste, while new thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every paragraph in the *report*; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the spirit of a pleader, who can find the most plausible topicks in behalf of his client, yet there was no great skill required to detect the many mistakes contained in it; which however are, by no means, to be charged upon the right honourable *committee*, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent representations of *Wood* and his accomplices. I desire one par-

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particular may dwell upon your minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; that, after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *report*, of a patent, for coining copper in *England*, to pass in *Ireland*; and only two patents referred to (for indeed there were no more) which were both passed in *Ireland*, by references to the king's council here, both less advantageous to the coiner than this of *Wood*; and in both, *securities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and silver in lieu of it*. This demonstrates the most flagrant falsehood and impudence of *Wood*, by which he would endeavour to make the right honourable *committee* his instruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom, which has deserved *quite different treatment*.

I am very sensible, that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All the assistance I had, were some informations from an eminent *person*; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the case of *David*, who *could not move in the armour of Saul*; and therefore I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised Philistine* (*Wood* I mean) *with a sling*

a sling and a stone. And I may say, for *Wood's* honour, as well as my own, that he resembles *Goliath*, in many circumstances, very applicable to the present purpose: for *Goliath* had *a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass, and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders.* In short, he was like *Mr. Wood*, all over *brass*, and he defied the armies of the living God. *Goliath's* conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood*: if he prevail against us, then shall we be his servants. But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he shall never be a servant of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop.

I will conclude with my humble desire and request, which I made in my second letter, that your *lordships* and *worships* would please to order a *declaration* to be drawn up, expressing, in the strongest terms, your resolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood's* half-pence, or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the said *declaration* may be signed by as many persons as possible [b], who have estates in this king-

[b] A declaration, pursuant to this request, was signed soon after by the most considerable persons of the kingdom, which was universally spread, and of great use,

dom,

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dom, and be set down to your several tenants
aforesaid.

And if the dread of *Wood's* half-pence
should continue until next *quarter-sessions*,
which I hope it will not, the gentlemen of
every country will then have a fair opportu-
nity of declaring against them with unanimity
and zeal.

I am, with the greatest respect,

(may it please your lordships and worships)

your most dutiful and

Aug. 25, 1724. obedient servant,

M. B.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of

IRELAND.

My dear countrymen,

HAVING already written three LETTERS, upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *half-pence*, I conceived my task was at an end; but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long used to hardships, lose, by degrees, the very notions of *liberty*; they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy; and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are, in the phrase of the report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowness* of *spirit*, to which a *kingdom* may be *subject*, as well as a *particular person*. And when *Esau* came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his *birth-right* for a *mess of pottage*.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn to all who could want instruction, by what methods they might safely proceed, whenever this *coin* should be offered to them: and, I believe, there hath not been, for many ages, an example

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ample of any kingdom so firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is, at present, against that detestable fraud. But however, it so happens, that some weak people begin to be alarmed a-new by rumours industriously spread. *Wood* prescribes to the news-mongers, in *London*, what they are to write. In one of their papers published here by some obscure printer (and certainly with a bad design) we are told, that the *papists* in *Ireland* *have entered into an association against his coin*; although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the matter; so that the two houses of parliament, the privy-council, the great numbers of corporations, the lord-mayor and aldermen of *Dublin*, the grand-juries, and principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of *papists*.

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that, by refusing to receive his dross for sterling, we *dispute the king's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England*. To countenance which reports he hath published a paragraph, in another news paper, to let us know, that *the lord lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his half-pence*.

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these, and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These calum-
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nies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty will never be called in question for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure *ironmonger*.

As to disputing the king's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain, to those who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word, *prerogative*, is.

The kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed; so they can make war and peace without the consent of parliament, and this is a very great *prerogative*: but, if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the king must bear the charge of it out of his own purse; and this is a great check on the crown. So the king hath a *prerogative* to coin money without consent of parliament; but he cannot compel the subject to take that money, except it be sterling, gold or silver; because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have, indeed, extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein, however, the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the truth, it is only of late times, that *prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For whoever reads the history of *England* will find, that some former kings, and those none of the worst, have, upon several occasions, ventured to controul the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even later than the days of
queen

queen *Elizabeth*. In her reign, that pernicious counsel of sending *base money* hither very narrowly failed of losing the kingdom; being complained of by the lord deputy, the council, and the whole body of the *English* here: so that, soon after her death, it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you some notion of what is meant by the king's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great lord *Bacon*, that, *as GOD governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those laws but upon high, important occasions; so, among earthly princes, those are the wisest and the best, who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldomest make use of their prerogative.*

Now here you may see, that the vile accusation of *Wood* and his *accomplices*, charging us with *disputing the king's prerogative* by refusing his brass, can have no place; because compelling the subject to take any coin, which is not sterling, is no part of the king's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his people to dispute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his majesty, as from the treatment we might, in such a case, justly expect *from some*, who seem to think, we have neither *common sense, nor common senses.*

senses. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *fellow-subjects*, and not our *masters*. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of *English* birth can have no pretence to, that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a *worse climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent, a ruined trade, a house of *peers* without *jurisdiction*, almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of *Wood's* half-pence.

But we are so far from disputing the king's *prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from *England* to *Japan*, only attended with one small limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them*.

Upon these considerations I was ever against all recourse to *England* for a remedy against the present impending evil; especially when I observed, that the addressee of both houses, after long expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of *Wood*; upon which I made some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more; for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake; for, before this *report* was made, his majesty's *most gracious answer* to the house of lords was sent over, and printed;

ed; wherein are these words, *granting the patent for coining half-pence and farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, etc.* That king *Charles* the second, and king *James* the second, (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their patents were passed under the great seal of *Ireland*, by references to *Ireland*, the copper to be coined in *Ireland*; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in *Ireland*, and pay silver and gold in return. *Wood's* patent was made under the great seal of *England*, the brass coined in *England*, not the least reference made to *Ireland*; the sum immense, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, because, in my private thoughts, I have sometimes made a query, whether the penner of those words in his majesty's most gracious answer, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several circumstances, which, in my poor opinion, seem to make a difference [c].

Let me now say something concerning the other great cause of some people's fear, as *Wood* has taught the *London* news-writer to express it, that *his excellency the lord lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's half-pence.*

[c] See the note at the end of this letter.

We

We know very well, that the lords lieutenants for several years past have not thought this kingdom *worthy the honour of their residence*, longer than was absolutely necessary for the king's business; which consequently *wanted no speed in the dispatch*. And therefore it naturally fell into most men's thoughts that a new governor, coming at an *unusual* time, must portend some *unusual* business to be done; especially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not what time, is, by a new summons revoking that prorogation, to assemble soon *ter* his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other side the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents*.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that so *little a creature as* Wood could find credit enough with the king and his ministers to have the lord lieutenant of *Ireland* sent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great seal of *England*, upon false suggestions, to one *William Wood* for coining copper *half-pence* for *Ireland*: the parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the king to have it recalled: this is refused, and a committee of the privy-council *report* to his majesty, that
Wood

Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his *half-pence*, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact, it is manifest, that the king and his ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a lord lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste before the ordinary time, and a parliament summoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a *sharp* by the ruin of a most loyal kingdom?

But supposing all this to be true: by what arguments could a lord lieutenant prevail on the same parliament, which addressed with so much zeal and earnestness against this evil, to pass it into a law? I am sure their opinion of *Wood* and his project are not mended since their last prorogation: and, supposing those *methods* should be used, which *detractors* tell us have been sometimes put in practice for *gaining votes*, it is well known, that in this kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is *as well known* to whose share they must fall.

But, because great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you some reasons, why there are so few employments to be disposed of in
this

this kingdom. All considerable offices for life here are possessed by those, to whom the reversion was granted; and these have been generally followers of the chief governors, or persons who had interest in the court of *England*: so the lord *Berkely* of *Stratton* holds that great office of *master of the rolls*; the lord *Palmerstown* is *first remembrancer*, worth near 2000*l. per annum*. One *Dodington*, secretary to the earl of *Pembroke*, begged the reversion of *clerk of the pells* worth 2500*l.* a year, which he now enjoys by the death of the lord *Newtown*. Mr. *Southwell* is secretary of state, and the earl of *Burlington* lord high treasurer of *Ireland* by inheritance. These are only a few, among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reversion of several employments during pleasure is granted the same way. This among many others is a circumstance, whereby the kingdom of *Ireland* is distinguished from all other nations upon earth, and makes it so difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr. *Addison* was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called *keeper of the records in Bermingham's tower*, of ten pounds a year, and to get a salary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curiosity or use. And we lately saw [d] a favourite secretary descend to be *master of the revels*, which, by his credit and extortion, he

[d] Mr. *Hopkins*, secretary to the duke of *Grafton*.
hath

hath made *pretty considerable*. I say nothing of the under-treasurerſhip worth about 9000*l.* a year, nor of the commissioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in *England*; for, I think, none of theſe are granted in reversion. But the jeſt is, that I have known upon occaſion ſome of theſe abſent officers as *keen* againſt the intereſt of *Ireland*, as if they had never been indebted to her for a *ſingle groat*.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes attempted to wiſh, that this project of *Wood* might ſucceed; becauſe I reflected with ſome pleaſure, what a *jolly crew* it would bring over among us of *lords*, and *'ſquires*, and *pensioners* of *both ſexes*, and officers *civil* and *military*, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we ſhould neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to cloath us, unleſs we could be content to *prance* about in *coats of mail*, or eat *braſs* as oſtridges do *iron*.

I return from this digreſſion to that which gave me the occaſion of making it: and, I believe, you are now convinced, that if the parliament of *Ireland* were as *temptable* as any *other* aſſembly within a mile of *Chriſtendom* (which God forbid) yet the *managers* muſt of neceſſity fail for want of *tools* to work with. But I will yet go one ſtep further by ſuppoſing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpoſe to gratify *compliers*; yet ſtill an inſuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how,
I
that

that *money* is neither *whig* nor *tory*, neither of *town* nor *country party*; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his *own estate*, which brings him *gold* and *silver*, than with the addition of an *employment*, when his *rents* and *salary* must both be paid in *Wood's* brass at above eighty *per cent.* discount.

For these, and many other reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least apprehensions from the sudden expectation of the *lord lieutenant* [e], while we continue in our present hearty disposition, to alter which no suitable temptation can possibly be offered. And if, as I have often asserted from the best authority, the *law* hath not left a *power* in the *crown* to force any money, except sterling, upon the subject; much less can the crown *devolve* such a *power* upon *another*.

This I speak with the utmost respect to the *person* and *dignity* of his excellency the lord *Carteret*, whose character was lately given me by a gentleman, that hath known him from his first appearance in the world: that gentleman describes him as a young man of great accomplishments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much spirit and vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal secretary of state; and is now, about the thirty-seventh year of his age, appointed lord lieutenant of *Ireland*. From such a governor this

[e] Lord *Carteret*, now earl *Granville*.

kingdom may reasonably hope for as much prosperity as, *under so many discouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that, within the memory of man, there have been governors of so much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible consequence to this kingdom by their power with *those who are in office*; and, by their arts, in managing or deluding others with *oaths, affability*, and even with *dinners*. If Wood's brass had in those times been upon the *anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods could have been taken. Depending persons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a *service expected from them*, under the pain of the publick business being put into more complying hands. Others would be allured by *promises*. To the country gentlemen, besides good words, *burgundy*, and *closetting*, it might, perhaps, have been hinted, how kindly it would be taken to comply with a royal patent, although it were not compulsory: that, if any inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other *graces or favours hereafter*: that gentlemen ought to consider, whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England; they would be desired to think of some good bills for the encouraging of trade, and setting the poor to work; some further acts against popery, and for uniting protestants. There would be solemn engagements, that we should never be troubled with above forty thousand pounds in his coin, and all of the best and weightiest sort, for which we should
only

only give our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and silver at home. Perhaps a seasonable report of some invasion would have been spread in the most proper juncture; which is a great smother of rubs in publick proceedings: and we should have been told, that this was no time to create differences, when the kingdom was in danger.

These, I say, and the like methods, would, in corrupt times, have been taken to let in this deluge of *brass* among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have succeeded; much less under the administration of so excellent a person as the lord CARTERET; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced, to a man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their posterity for ever will be dated from the admission of that execrable coin: that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate quantity, than a *plague* can be confined to a few families; and that no *equivalent* can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcase can be recovered to a life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumstance in this universal opposition to Mr. Wood, that the people sent over hither from *England* to fill up our vacancies, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, are all on our side. Money, the great *divider* of the world, hath, by a strange revolution, been the great *uniter* of a most divided people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a year in *England* (a country of freedom)

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dom) to be paid a thousand in *Ireland* out of *Wood's* exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made *primate* [f], would never quit his seat in an *English* house of lords, and his preferments at *Oxford* and *Bristol* worth twelve hundred pounds a year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an *Irishman* at least upon *this one article* as any of his brethren, or even of *us*, who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this island. For those who, in the common phrase, do not *come hither to learn the language*, would never change a better country for a worse to receive *brass* instead of *gold*.

Another slander spread by *Wood* and his emissaries, is, that, by opposing him, we discover an inclination to *shake off our dependence upon the crown of England*. Pray observe how important a person is this same *William Wood*; and how the publick weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private interest. First, all those who refuse to take his coin are *papists*; for he tells us, that *none but papists are associated against him*. Secondly, they *dispute the king's prerogative*. Thirdly, they *are ripe for rebellion*. And, fourthly, they are going to *shake off their dependence upon the crown of England*; that is to say, *they are going to chuse another king*; for there can be no other meaning in this expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

[f] Doctor Hugh Boulter.

And

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to those who are ignorant of another point, which hath often *swelled in my breast*. Those who come over hither to us from *England*, and some *weak* people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, shake their heads, and tell us, that [g] *Ireland* is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would seem, by this phrase, to intend, that the people of *Ireland* are, in some state of slavery or dependence, different from those of *England*: whereas a *depending kingdom* is a *modern term of art*, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient *civilians*, and *writers upon government*; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called, in some statutes, an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expression, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be understood than that, by a statute made here in the thirty-third year of *Henry VIII. the king, and his successors, are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of England*. I have looked over all the *English* and *Irish* statutes without finding any law, that makes *Ireland* depend upon *England*, any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have, indeed, obliged ourselves to have *the same king with them*; and, consequently, they are obliged to have *the same king with us*. For the law was

[g] See the note at the end of this letter.

made by *our own parliament*; and our ancestors then were not such *fools* (*whatever they were in the preceding reign*) to bring themselves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law, reason, or common sense*.

Let whoever think otherwise, I, M. B. *drapier*, desire to be excepted: for I declare, next under GOD, I *depend* only on the king my sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am so far from *depending* upon the people of *England*, that, if they should ever *rebel* against my sovereign (which God forbid) I would be ready, at the first command from his majesty, to take up arms against them, as some of *my* countrymen did against *theirs* at *Preston*. And, if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of *England*, I would venture to transgress that *statute* so far, as to lose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of *Ireland* [b].

It is true indeed, that, within the memory of man, the parliaments of *England* have *sometimes* assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as *truth, reason, and justice* are capable of *opposing*) by the famous Mr. *Molineux*, an *English* gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and *best whigs* in *England*;

[b] This paragraph gave great offence. See Letter V.

but the *love* and *torrent* of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible. For in *reason*, all *government*, without the consent of the *governed*, is the very *definition of slavery*: but, in fact, *eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt*. But I have done: for those who have used *power* to cramp *liberty*, have gone so far as to resent even the *liberty of complaining*; although a man, upon the rack, was never known to be refused the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *sink* too much under *unreasonable* fears, so we are too soon inclined to be *raised* by groundless hopes, according to the nature of all *consumptive* bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for several days past, that *somebody* in *England* empowered a second *somebody* to write to a third *somebody* here to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with these half-pence*. And this is reported to have been done by the [i] *same person*, who is said to have sworn some months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats* (though I doubt they would *stick in our stomachs*): but which ever of these reports be true or false, it is no concern of ours. For, *in this point*, we have nothing to do with *English ministers*: and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance, or to enforce it;

[i] Mr. *Walpole*, afterwards earl of *Orford*.

for the *report of the committee* hath given me a *surfeit*. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that *spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you; and to let you see, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in *England*.

If the pamphlets published at *London*, by *Wood* and his *journeymen* in defence of his cause, were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked design, more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *saint* in comparison of what he appears to be from the writings of those, whom he *hires* to justify his *project*. But he is so far *master of the field* (*let others guess the reason*) that no *London* printer dare publish any paper written in favour of *Ireland*: and here nobody hath yet been so *bold* as to publish any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet sent me of near fifty pages written in favour of Mr. *Wood* and his coinage, printed in *London*: it is not worth answering, because, probably, it will never be published here. But it gave me occasion to reflect upon an unhappiness we lie under, that the people of *England* are utterly ignorant of our case; which, however, is no wonder, since it is a point they do not in the least concern themselves

selves about, farther then, perhaps, as a subject of discourse in a coffee-house when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have reason to believe, that no *minister* ever gave himself the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, because I suppose their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of *Wood* and his accomplices; else it would be impossible, that any man could have the impudence to write such a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *neighbours*, whose *understandings are just upon a level with ours* (which, perhaps, are none of the *brightest*) have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for *Ireland*. They look upon us as a sort of *savage Irish*, whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And, if I should describe the *Britons* to you as they were in *Cæsar's* time, when they *painted their bodies, or clothed themselves with the skins of beasts*, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that, hearing only *one side of the cause*, and having neither opportunity nor curiosity to examine the *other*, they *believe a lie* merely for their ease; and conclude, because Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *power*, he hath also *reason* on his side.

Therefore, to let you see how this case is represented, in *England*, by *Wood* and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of those notorious falsehoods in point of *fact* and *reasoning*

ing contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their own right sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

First, the writer positively asserts, that Wood's *half-pence* were current among us for several months, with the universal approbation of all people, without one single gainsayer; and we all, to a man, thought ourselves happy in having them.

Secondly, he affirms, that we were drawn into a dislike of them only by some cunning, evil-designing men among us, who opposed this patent of Wood to get another for themselves.

Thirdly, that those, who most declared at first against Wood's patent, were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage.

Fourthly, that our parliament and privy-council, the lord-mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries and merchants, and, in short, the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs (as he expresseth it) were fond of those half-pence, till they were inflamed by those few designing persons aforesaid.

Fifthly, he says directly, that all those who opposed the half-pence, were papists, and enemies to king George.

Thus far, I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear from your own knowledge, that the author is a most notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole kingdom,

dom, that, if occasion required, we might get it confirmed under *five hundred thousand hands*.

Sixthly, he would persuade us, that if we sell *five shillings worth* of our goods or manufactures for *two shillings and four-pence worth* of copper, although the copper were melted down, and that we could get *five shillings in gold and silver* for the said goods; yet to take the said *two shillings and four-pence in copper* would be greatly for our advantage.

And, lastly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, that if we will take off *two hundred thousand pounds* in his half-pence for our goods, and likewise pay him three per cent. interest, for thirty years, for an *hundred and twenty thousand pounds* (at which he computes the coinage above the intrinsic value of the copper) for the loan of his coin, he will, after that time, give us good money for what half-pence will be then left.

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can, to shew the insupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. First (says he) I will send *two hundred thousand pounds* of my coin into your country: the copper I compute to be, in real value, *eighty thousand pounds*, and I charge you with an *hundred and twenty thousand pounds* for the coinage; so that you see, I lend you an *hundred and twenty thousand pounds* for thirty years; for which you shall pay me three per cent. that is to say, *three thousand six hundred pounds per annum*, which, in thirty years, will

will amount to an hundred and eighty thousand pounds. And when these thirty years are expired, return me my copper, and I will give you good money for it.

This is the propofal made to us by *Wood*, in that pamphlet written by one of his *commissioners*: and the author is fupposed to be the fame infamous *Coleby*, one of his *under-swearers* at the *committee of council*, who was tried for *robbing the treasury here*, where he was an under-clerk.

By this propofal he will firft receive two hundred thoufand pounds, in goods or fterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thoufand pounds, but, in reality, not worth thirty thoufand pounds. Secondly, he will receive for intereft an hundred and eight thoufand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his *half-pence* upon his executors (for before that time he will be, probably, gone to *his own place*) thofe executors will very reafonably reject them as raps and counterfeit, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of fuch a *dealer* as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a *Dutch* reckoning, wherein, if you difpute the unreafonablenefs and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord fhall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although thefe and the like pamphlets, published by *Wood*, in *London*, are altogether unknown here, where nobody could read them

them without as much *indignation*, as *contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a specimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our silence: and the *English* in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refusal to *wilfulness* or *disaffection*, just as *Wood* and his *hirelings* are pleased to represent.

But although our arguments are not suffered to be printed in *England*, yet the consequence will be of little moment. Let *Wood* endeavour to persuade the people there, that we ought to *receive* his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to *reject* it under pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his *best* and his *worst*.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave, in all humility, to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *indiscretion*, by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned so often, and in such a manner, upon this occasion. A short paper printed at *Bristol*, and reprinted here, reports Mr. *Wood* to say, that he *wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr. Walpole comes to town*. Where, by the way, he is mistaken; for it is the *true English people of Ireland* who refuse it, although we take it for granted, that the *Irish* will do so too when-

ever they are asked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole* will *cram his brass down our throats*. Sometimes it is given out, that we must *either take these half-pence, or eat our brogues*: and in another news-letter, but of yesterday, we read, that the same great man *hath sworn to make us swallow his coin in fire-balls*.

This brings to my mind the known story of a *Scotchman*, who, receiving the sentence of death with all the circumstances of *hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this COOKERY?* And, I think, we have reason to ask the same question; for, if we believe *Wood*, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us; and you see the *bill of fare*; and I am sorry the *drink* was forgot, which might easily be supplied with *melted lead and flaming pitch*.

What vile words are these to put into the mouth of a great counsellor, in high trust with his majesty, and looked upon as a prime minister! If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a manner of representing his patrons, when I come to be a *great man*, he shall never be suffered to attend at my *levee*. This is not the style of a great minister; it favours too much of the *kettle* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of *Wood's forge*.

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain; for if his coin

coin should pass, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach*; because then we should have neither *shoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the falshood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *swallowing these half-pence in fire-balls*, it is a story equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr. *Wood's* coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty millions of *half-pence*, to be *swallowed* by a million and an half of people; so that, allowing two half-pence to each *ball*, there will be about seventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom; and, to administer this dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, considering the *squeamishness* of some stomachs, and the *peevishness* of young children, is but reasonable. Now, under the correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new scheme of Mr. *Wood* himself; which, to make it pass the better in *Ireland*, he would father upon a *minister of state*.

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But I will now demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is against this project of Mr. *Wood*, and is an entire friend to *Ireland*, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the *true interest* of the king his master: and that as his *integrity* is above all *corruption*, so is his *fortune* above all *temptation*. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly safe from that *corner*, and shall never be under the necessity of contending with so *formidable a power*, but be left to possess our *brogues* and *potatoes* in peace, as [k] *remote from thunder as we are from Jupiter*.

I am, my dear countrymen,

your loving fellow-subject,

fellow-sufferer, and

Octob. 13, 1724.

humble servant,

M. B.

[k] *Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.*

Upon

Upon the arrival of lord *Carteret*, soon after the publication of this letter, the passages from which this note is referred to were selected as sufficient ground for prosecution, and a proclamation was published by his excellency and council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the author. *Harding* the printer was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared against him: which gave occasion to the following paper.

H 3.

SEASON.

SEASONABLE
A D V I C E
TO THE
G R A N D - J U R Y,
CONCERNING THE
Bill preparing against the PRINTER of the
preceding LETTER.

SINCE a *bill* is preparing for the *grand-jury* to find against the printer of the *Drapier's last letter*, there are several things maturely to be considered by those gentlemen before they determine upon it.

First, They are to consider, that the author of the said pamphlet did write three other discourses on the same subject, which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raised and continued that spirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out *Wood's coin*; for all men will grant, that, if those pamphlets had not been written, his coin must have over-run the nation some months ago.

Secondly, It is to be considered, that this pamphlet, against which a *proclamation* hath been issued, is written by the *same author*: that nobody ever doubted the innocence and
good-

goodness of his design; that he appears, through the whole tenor of it, to be a *loyal subject* to his majesty, and devoted to the house of *Hanover*; and declares himself, in a manner, peculiarly zealous against the *pretender*. And if such a writer, in four several treatises on so nice a subject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of *England* and of *liberty*, should, in one or two places, happen to let fall an inadvertent expression, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the good he hath done, especially when we consider, that he could have no possible design in view, either of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well considered, whether any one expression in the said pamphlet be really liable to a just exception, much less to be found *wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon his majesty and his ministry*, *etc.*

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is said the prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, first, where the author mentions the penner of the king's answer. *First*, It is well known his majesty is not master of the *English* tongue; and therefore it is necessary that some other person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that language. *Secondly*, His majesty's answer is not in the first person, but in the third. It is not said, WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJES-

TY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, these are properly not the words of his majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his ministers. *Thirdly*, It will be easily seen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his sentiments, upon this particular, with the utmost caution and respect, as any impartial reader will observe.

The second paragraph, which it is said will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author says of *Ireland's* being a dependent kingdom: he explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England, shall be king of Ireland*. Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that some lawyers should fully inform the jury what other law there is, either statute or common, for this *dependency*; and if there be no law, there is no transgression.

The *fourth* thing very maturely to be considered by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: the people, in general, find no fault in the *Drapier's* last book, any more than in the three former; and therefore, when they hear it is condemned by a grand-jury of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in favour of *Wood's* coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take those half-pence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: so that the question

question comes to this, Which will be of the worst consequence? to let pass one or two expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a book written for the publick service; or to leave a free open passage for *Wood's* brass to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever?

The *fifth* thing to be considered is, that the members of the grand-jury, being merchants and principal shopkeepers, can have no suitable temptation offered them, as a recompence for the mischief they will do, and suffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loss or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the state, to make up their own private advantages by the destruction of their country; whereas those, who go about to *advise, entice, or threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments, which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the case of all those who signed the proclamation to have the author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his grace the lord archbishop of *Dublin*, so renowned for his piety, and wisdom, and love of his country, absolutely refused to condemn the book or the author.

Lastly, It ought to be considered, what consequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expressions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But

how can it be supposed that an ignorant printer can be such a *critick*? He knew the author's design was honest, and approved by the whole kingdom: he advised with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could see none himself: it was sent him in an unknown hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that they knew not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring punishment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I suppose, what he did at first out of modesty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable ascribed to *Demosthenes*: he had served the people of *Athens* with great fidelity in the station of an *orator*; when, upon a certain occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his countrymen, the following story: Once upon a time the *wolves* desired a league with the *sheep* upon this condition; that the cause of strife might be taken away, which was the *shepherds* and *mastiffs*: this being granted, the *wolves*, without all fear, made havock of the *sheep*.

Nov. 11, 1724.

Copies

Copies of this paper were distributed to every person of the grand-jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited, who, probably for the reasons contained in it, refused to find the bill, upon which the lord chief justice *Whitshed*, who had presided at a former prosecution of the dean's printer [1], discharged them in a rage. The following extract was soon after published to shew the illegality of this proceeding, and the next grand-jury that empannelled made the subsequent presentment against all the abettors of *Wood's* project. See *Letter to lord Molesworth*, p. 121 of this vol.

An Extract from a Book, entituled, *An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21, 1680*, p. 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the House of Commons in *England*, Nov. 13, 1680.

SEVERAL persons being examined about the dismissing a grand-jury in *Middlesex*, the house came to the following *resolutions*:

Resolved, That the discharging of a grand-jury by any judge, before the end of the

[1] See the note prefixed to the Proposal for the sole use of *Irish* manufactures.

term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to the publick justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in *Westminster-hall*; and report the same, with their opinion herein, to this house.

The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND-JURY of the County of the City of *Dublin*.

WHEREAS several great quantities of base metal coined, commonly called *Wood's* half-pence, have been brought into the port of *Dublin*, and lodged in several houses of this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely among his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; notwithstanding the addresses of both houses of parliament, and the privy-council, and the declarations of most of the corporations of this city against the said coin: And whereas his majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal subjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuse the said half-pence:

We the *grand-jury* of the county of the city of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas term* 1724, having entirely at heart his majesty's interest,
and

and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do *present* all such persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said half-pence upon us, contrary to his majesty's most gracious intentions, as enemies to his majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; whose affections have been so eminently distinguished by their zeal to his illustrious family before his happy accession to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such *patriots* as have been eminently *zealous* for the interest of his majesty and this country in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said *Wood*, and preventing the passing of his base coin: so we do, at the same time, declare our abhorrence and detestation of all reflexions on his majesty and his government; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his most sacred majesty against the *pretender*, and all his majesty's open and secret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given

Given under our hands, at the grand-jury chamber, this 28th of November, 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empson,
Nathanael Pearson,
Joseph Nuttall,
William Aston,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearson,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawson,

David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

A L E T.

A
L E T T E R
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE

Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the Year 1724.

They compassed me about also with words of deceit, and fought against me without a cause.

For my love they are my adversaries ; but I give myself unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. *Psal. cix. 3, 4, 5.*

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity ; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling block in the way of thy uprightness.

Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

Bind not one sin upon another, for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. *Ecclus vii. 6, 7, 8.*

Non jam prima peto, Mnestheus, neque vincere certo :

Quanquam O ! Sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti.

THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD VILLOUVER

Written in the year 1744.

That I have been
suffering from
the effects of
the small pox
and have been
unable to
attend to my
business for
some time.

For my love they are my
adventures; but I
give myself unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me
evil for good, and
hated for my love. Psal. cix. 3, 4, 5.
I am not to be judge, being not able to take
away iniquity; lest at any time thou turn
the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling
block in the way of the upright.
O Lord, not against the multitude of a city,
and then thou shalt not cast thyself down
among the people.

But not one in upon another, for in one
shall not be unquarrelled. Psal. vii. 6.

Thou shalt not be
quarrelled with
the people, O Lord,
lest thou be
quarrelled with
the people.

D I R E C T I O N S

T O T H E

P R I N T E R.

Mr. HARDING;

WHEN I sent you my former papers, I cannot say I intended you either *good* or *hurt*; and yet you have happened, through my means, to receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and increase the *former*. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for as you deal in the most worthless kind of trash, the penny productions of pennyless scriblers; so you often venture your liberty, and sometimes your lives, for the purchase of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are punished for other men's actions.

I am afraid, you, in particular, think you have reason to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in prison, to your great expence, as well as hardship; and for a prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. *Harding*, how that matter stands. Since the press hath lain under so strict an inspection, those who have
a mind

a mind to inform the world, are become so cautious as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the way of danger. My custom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written, we send to your house by a black-guard boy. But, at the same time, I do assure you, upon my reputation, that I never did send you any thing for which I thought you could possibly be called to an account. And you will be my witness, that I always desired you, by a letter, to take some good advice before you ventured to print; because I knew the *dexterity of dealers in the law* at finding out something to fasten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able persons; and even *some*, who afterwards *appeared against you*: to which I can only answer; that you must either change your *advisers*, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I desire you will send the inclosed letter directed to my lord viscount *Molesworth*, at his house at *Brackdenstown*, near *Swords*: but I would have it sent *printed* for the convenience of his lordship's reading; because this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some *notable* lawyer: I am assured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without

without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expences. For although I have taken so much care, that, I think, it impossible to find a topick out of the following papers for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the *last*; with little mention of Mr. *Wood*, or his *half-pence*; because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for *new fears*; and, in that case, you may, pethaps, hear from me again. *I am*

From my shop in St. *Francis* *your friend*
street, Dec. 14, 1724. *and servant,*

M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer [*m*], your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

[*m*] The copies were always sent to the press by some obscure messenger, who never knew the person from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuensis only was trusted, to whom, about two years after, the author gave an employment of 40*l.* a year as a reward for his fidelity.

To

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE the
Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH,

At his house at *Brackdenstown* near
Swords.

MY LORD,

I Reflect too late on the maxim of common observers, that those, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reason to repent: which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myself the displeasure of the government, signified by a *proclamation* promising a reward of three-hundred pounds to the first *faithful* subject, who shall be able and inclined to *inform* against me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and industry* of my lord chief-justice *Whitshed*, in his endeavours to discover so dangerous a person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cause to do; and the common observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the course of human affairs, that a man shall be made liable to *legal* animadversions, where he hath nothing to answer for either to *God* or his *country*; and condemned at

at *Westminster-hall*, for what he will never be charged with at the *day of judgment*.

After strictly examining my own heart, and consulting some divines of great reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any [n] *malice* or *wickedness* against the publick; of any *designs* to *sow* *sedition*; of *reflecting* on the *king* and his *ministers*; or of endeavouring to *alienate* the *affections* of the *people* of this *kingdom* from those of *England*. All I can charge myself with, is, a weak attempt to serve a nation in danger of destruction by a most wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may, perhaps, give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burthen upon my conscience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a *judge*, who, upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *premunire* for *appealing* to a *foreign jurisdiction*: and of another in *Wales*, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison; because *comparisons* were *odious*.

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my con-

[n] Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

dition,

dition, I desire your lordship's pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free-school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the *latin tongue*. I served my apprenticeship in *London*, and there set up for myself with good success; until, by the *death of some friends, and misfortunes of others*, I returned into this kingdom; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of *England* would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even some of the *weaving* trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd and unnatural*. I remember your lordship, at that time, did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you [o] a piece of *black and white stuff* just sent from the *dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my customer for.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolved, for the future, to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in *common goods*, like the rest of my brethren; until it happened some months ago, considering with myself, that the *lower sort of people* wanted a *plain, strong coarse*

[o] By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

stuff to defend them against cold easterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from *agues*. I then made a [p] *second* and a *third* kind of *stuffs* for the gentry, with the same success; insomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for some time.

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a [q] *fourth* piece made of the best *Irish* wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best *lord* or *judge* of the land. But, of late, some *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *shuddering* in their limbs, and have thrown it off in a rage; cursing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented it: so that I am determined never to *work* for *persons of quality* again; except for your *lordship* and a *very few* more.

I assure your lordship, upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, with the sale of all the several *stuffs* I have contrived: for I give the whole profit to the *dyers* and *pressers* [r]. And therefore I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive, besides the love of my country, could

[p] The *Drapier's* three first letters.

[q] The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.

[r] Printers,

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engage me to busy my head and hands, to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* and *ill will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of stuff* to be woven on purpose for your lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the [s] *shreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former*. However, I shall *work* it up as well as I can; and at worst, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very sensible, how ill your lordship is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a *drapier* in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an affair of state? for such is now grown the controversy with Mr. Wood, if some *great lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to *gold*, till some of them lose their estates, and die in jail; so it may, possibly, fall out in my case, that, by *playing* too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine* double to the reward for *betraying* me; be sent to prison, and *not to be delivered thence until I shall have paid the uttermost farthing*.

There are, my lord, three sorts of persons, with whom I am resolved never to dispute: a *highway-man* with a pistol at my breast; a *troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my

[s] Meaning the present letter.

house;

house ; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accusing me. In each of these cases, *which are almost the same*, the best method is to *keep out of the way* ; and the next best is to *deliver your money, surrender your houses, and confess nothing*.

I am told, that the two points in my last letter, from which an occasion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his majesty's answer to the address of the house of lords upon Mr. *Wood's* patent ; and where I discourse upon *Ireland's* being a *dependent kingdom*. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost respect and caution ; and I thought it necessary to shew where *Wood's* patent differed in many essential parts from others, that ever had been granted ; because the contrary had, for want of due information, been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of *Ireland's dependency* ; I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the curiosity to enquire among several eminent lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the statutes of both kingdoms without the least information, further than an *Irish* act, that I quoted, of the 33d of *Henry VIII.* uniting *Ireland* to *England* under one king. I cannot say, I was sorry to be disappointed in my search, because it is certain, I could be *contented to depend only upon God and my prince, and the laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations*.

nations. But since my *bettors* are of a *different opinion*, and desire *further dependencies*, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own heart upon the *exception* I made of *M. B. drapier*. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle story I had heard in *England*, which, perhaps, may be common and beaten; but because it *insinuates neither treason nor sedition*, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were so great, that the commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in for making some new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. *Drue*, a member of the house, stood up, and said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but however, for some reasons best known to himself, he desired that a clause might be inserted for *excepting the family of the Drues*. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, must be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although, indeed, not in so *effectual* and *decisive a manner*. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile spirit, that this point did not *belong to my subject*, is a false and foolish objection. There were several scandalous reports industriously spread

spread by *Wood* and his accomplices, to discourage all opposition against his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion*; that we disputed the king's *prerogative*, and were shaking off our *dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much belief against the most visible demonstrations to the contrary, that a *great person* of this kingdom, now in *England*, sent over such an account of it to his friends, as would make any good subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that calumny as it deserved. Then I proved, by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to dispute his majesty's *prerogative*; because the *prerogative* was not concerned in the question; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And lastly, to clear us from the imputation of shaking off our *dependency*, I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this *dependence* consisted; and cited the statute above mentioned to be made in *Ireland*; by which it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England, shall be king of Ireland*; and that the two kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one king*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency*; because it was altogether out of our power: for surely no king of *England* will ever consent to the repeal of this statute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said I *went too*

far, when I declared, that *if ever the Pretender should come to be fixed upon the throne of England (which God forbid)* I would so far venture to transgress this statute, that I would lose the last drop of my blood, before I would submit to him as king of Ireland.

This I hear on all sides is the strongest and weightiest objection against me; and which hath given the most offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute; and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king, whom *England* should receive. Now, if, in defending myself from this accusation, I should freely confess, that *I went too far*; that the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my zeal for his present majesty, and his protestant line in the house of *Hanover*; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment and sorrow for my error will be some attonement, and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning by a spiteful interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordship a secret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this habit of writing and discoursing,
wherein

wherein I unfortunately differ from *almost* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my apprenticeship in *London*, and a long residence there after I had set up for myself. Upon my return and settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*. I had been long conversing with the writings of your lordship, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Molineux*, colonel *Sidney* [t], and other dangerous authors, who talk of *liberty as a blessing, to which the whole race of mankind hath an original title; whereof nothing but unlawful force can divest them*. I knew a great deal of the several *Gothick institutions in Europe*; and by what incidents and events they came to be destroyed: and I ever thought it the most uncontrouled and universally agreed maxim, that *freedom consists in a people's being governed by laws made with their own consent; and slavery in the contrary*. I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty and property* are words of known use and signification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to understand, and have them often in their mouths. These were the errors which have misled me; and to which alone I must impute the severe treatment I have received. But I shall, in time, *grow wiser*, and learn

[t] He published a book in the reign of king *William III.* entitled, the State of *Denmark*, with a large Preface.

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to consider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to say; that the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered, would, in *England*, have only exposed me as a stupid fool, who went to prove, that *the sun shone in a clear summer's day*: and I have witnesses ready to depose, that your lordship hath said and writ fifty times worse; and, what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that, as politics run, I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself: and, if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and support me in prison; or else I may chance to *inform* against you by way of *reprisal*.

In the mean time, I beg your lordship to receive my confession; that, if there be any such thing as a *dependency* of *Ireland* upon *England*, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of *God*, of *nature*, of *reason*, of *nations*, or of the *land* (which I shall die rather than grant) then was the *proclamation* against me the most *merciful* that ever was put out; and, instead of accusing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *seditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treason*.

All I desire is, that the cause of my country, against Mr. *Wood*, may not suffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether *Ireland* depends upon *England*, or only upon *God*, the *king*, and the *law*; I hope no man will as-
fert,

fert, that it *depends* upon Mr. *Wood*. I should be heartily sorry, that this *commendable* spirit against me should accidentally (and what, I *hope*, was never intended) strike a damp upon that spirit, in all ranks and corporations of men, against the desperate and ruinous design of Mr. *Wood*. Let my countrymen blot out those parts, in my last letter, which they dislike; and let no *rust* remain on my *sword* to cure the wounds I have given to our most mortal enemy. When Sir *Charles Sidley* was taking the oaths, where several things were to be *renounced*, he said, he loved *renouncing*; asked if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a *renouncer*, yet let me have but *good city security* against this pestilent coinage, and I shall be ready not only to *renounce* every syllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them chearfully with my own *hands* into *those* of the common *hangman*, to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath escaped out of the *secular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of *some people* may be, I think it is agreed, that many of those, who *subscribed* against me, are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom, who opposed Mr. *Wood* [u]: and it was with

[u] As the *Drapier's* letters were written expressly against *Wood's* half-pence, it might be imagined that
great

great satisfaction, that I observed some *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *strong declaration* against him and his coin. But, if the admission of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy* person, who is to *betray* me, ought, in prudence, to do it with all convenient speed; or else it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *sterling* for the discharge of his *hire*, when the publick shall have lost five hundred thousand, if there be so much in the nation; besides our fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that, in quarrels between man and man, it is of much weight, which of them gave the first provocation, or struck the first blow. It is manifest, that Mr. *Wood* hath done both: and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first *hanged*, and his *dröss* thrown into the sea: after which the *drapier* will be ready to stand his trial. *It must needs be that offences come,*

a proclamation against the author would produce an opinion, that to oppose *Wood's* half-pence was illegal, and subjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent so fatal a mistake, it is here remarked, that many of those, who subscribed the proclamation, were yet strenuous opposers of *Wood's* project. This distinction is yet more explicit in the letter to lord *Middleton*, which was written soon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though for some reasons deferred.---See the letter to lord *Middleton*, and the note prefixed,

but

but two unto him by whom the offence cometh. If Mr. Wood had held his *hand*, every body else would have held their *tongues*: and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets, juries, or proclamations* upon this occasion. The provocation must needs have been very great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almost think, the very *stones* in the street would *rise* up in such a cause: and I am not sure they will not *do so* against Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known story of the dumb boy, whose tongue forced a passage for speech by the horror of seeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may lessen the wonder, that a tradesman hid in privacy and silence should *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by so infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr. Wood, the *destroyer* of a kingdom, walks about in triumph (unless it be true, that he is in jail for debt) while he, who endeavours to *assert the liberty of his country*, is forced to *hide his head* for occasionally dealing in a matter of *controversy*. However, I am not the first, who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy by disobeying, for *once*, the strict orders of military discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late)
the

the advice given me by a certain *dean* [w]. He shewed the mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good will of the people; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate *circumstantial lapse* would, probably, bring me within the reach of *power*: that my good intentions would be no security against *those, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul*. He produced an instance of a person as innocent, as disinterested, and as well meaning as myself; who had written [x] a very seasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom, to wear their own manufactures; for which, however, the printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence; the *jury sent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further observed, that I was, in a manner, left alone to stand the *battle*; while others, who had ten thousand times better talents than a *drapier*, were so prudent as to lie still; and, perhaps, thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them *diversion* at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a sufficient recompence by a little applause: whereupon he concluded with a short story

[w] The author is supposed to mean himself.

[x] The author means himself again; in the discourse advising the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures.

of a *Jew* at *Madrid*; who, being condemn-
ed to the fire on account of his religion, a
crowd of school-boys followed him to the
stake, and apprehending they might lose their
sport if he should happen to recant, would
often *clap him on the back* and cry, *Sta firme,*
Moyse (*Moses, continue stedfast*).

I allow this gentleman's advise to have been
very good, and his observations just; and, in
one respect, my condition is worse than that
of the *Jew*: for *no recantation will save*
me. However, it should seem, by *some late*
proceedings, that my state is not altogether
deplorable. This I can impute to nothing
but the steadiness of *two impartial grand-*
juries; which hath confirmed in me an opi-
nion I have long entertained; that, as phi-
losophers say, *virtue is seated in the middle*;
so in another sense, the little *virtue* left in
the world is chiefly to be found among the
middle rank of mankind, who are neither *al-*
lured out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven*
by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occasioned by my
last letter, and a *due* preparation for proceed-
ing against me in a court of justice, there
have been two printed papers clandestinely
spread about; whereof no man is able to trace
the original, further than by *conjecture*;
which, with its usual charity, lays them to
my account. The former is entitled, *Sea-*
sonable advice, and appears to have been in-
tended for information of the grand-jury,
upon the supposition of a bill to be p e p a e d
against

against that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry resolution of the house of commons in *England* against *dissolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordship will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and for that reason it is manifest, that no judge was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himself* or his *dependents*, to use the *least insinuation*, that might possibly affect the passions or interests of any one single *jury-man*, much less of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *must* be *convinced*, who will just give himself the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: so that it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *sixty years past*; which, considering how long they held their offices *during pleasure*, as they *still do among us* [y], I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I must confess it is a sharp censure from an *English* house of commons against *dissolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or

[y] Perhaps this may account for *Whitshed's* conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *Proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures*, and superadded to the *Seasonable advice to the grand-jury*.

essions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For whatever *dependence* there may be of *Ireland* upon *England*, I hope he would not insinuate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief-justice* in *Ireland* must *depend* upon a *resolution* of an *English* house of commons. Besides that *resolution*, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief-justice, Sir *William Scroggs*, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For *Scroggs* *dissolved* the *grand-jury* of *London* for fear they *should* present; but ours in *Dublin* was *dissolved*, because they would *not* present; which *wonderfully alters the case*. And therefore a *second grand-jury* supplied that defect by making a presentment [z] that *pleased the whole kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other *jury* behaved themselves in such a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for *virtue* or *publick spirit*.

I am confident, your lordship will be of my sentiments in one thing; that some short plain authentick tract might be published for

[z] See the presentment immediately preceding this letter.

the information both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court to be consulted by the jurymen, before they consider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced from former times; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an *Eastern* king, who put a *judge* to death for an iniquitous sentence; and ordered his *hide to be stuffed into a cushion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, such a *memorial* might not have been unuseful to a son of Sir *William Scroggs*, and that both he and his successors would often *wriggle* in their seats, as long as the *cushion* lasted: I wish the relator had told us what number of such *cushions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your lordship, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair, where the publick interest and safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr. *Wood*; and this in a country, where *loyalty* is *woven into the very hearts of the people*, seems a little extraordinary. Sir *William Scroggs* was the first, who introduced that *commendable acuteness into the courts of judicature*; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his successors, or *strained upon*
occasion,

occasion, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets, *unpleasing to the ministry*. were presented as libels, he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him; and said it was strange, that the judges and lawyers of the *king's-bench* should be duller than all the people of *England*: and he was often so very happy in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious hints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that class for escaping the law) that he discovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their cost. If such methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the subject of Mr. *Wood*, I defy any man, of fifty times my understanding and caution, to avoid being *entrapped*: unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend *Harding* lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever a drying upon his lines; or venture to publish them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your lordship where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuse this coin of Mr. *Wood*; but, at the same time, it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely possible*, that the ministers, in *England*, may not
K 2 suppose

suppose the consequences of uttering that brass among us to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because, perhaps, if they understood it in that light, they would, in common humanity, use their credit with his majesty for saving *a most loyal kingdom from destruction*. But as long as it shall please those great persons to think that coin will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we lie under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make use of that *liberty*, which the *king* and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to refuse this coin; and, by frequent remembrances, to keep up that spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and, perhaps, in time to sink altogether. For any publick order against receiving or uttering Mr. *Wood's* halfpence is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from *England*; which, I think, nobody presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But to confess the truth, my lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *songs* and *ballads*, who, perhaps, are the best qualified, at present, to gather up the gleanings of this controversy. As to myself, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and pursue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falshoods of this vile impostor *Wood* in every part, I foolishly *disdained* to
have

have recourse to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather chose to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and *the common rights of mankind*, without considering the *climate* I was in.

Since your last residence in *Ireland*, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myself to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradesman did not qualify me to wait on you at your house; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have escaped *severer censures*. But I have lately sold my nag, and honestly told his greatest fault, which was that of snuffing up the air about *Brackdenstown*; whereby he became such a lover of *liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried at the bottom of a strong chest your lordship's writings under a heap of others, that treat of *liberty*; and spread over a *layer* or two of *Hobbs*, *Filmer*, *Bodin*, and many more authors of that stamp, to be ready at hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *new set* of principles in government. In the mean time, I design quietly to look to my shop, and keep as far out of your lordship's influence as possible: and, if you ever see any more of my writings on this subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your lordship will please to give me an easy lease of some part of your estate in *Yorkshire*, thi-

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ther will I carry my chest: and, turning it upside down, resume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honest *English* farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr. *Wood*; my most loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe so much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest respect,

My lord,

your lordship's

From my shop in St.
Francis-street, Dec.
14, 1724.

most obedient,

and most humble servant,

M. B.

These papers (for the *sixth* and *seventh* letters were not published till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithstanding threats, prosecutions, and imprisonment, against all the influence of power, and all the artifices of cunning: persons of every rank and every sect united with the *drapier* in the common cause, his health was a perpetual toast, and his effigies were displayed in every street; *Wood* was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally suppressed.

B Y

BY many passages in the following letter, and by the date of Oct. 6, 1724, it appears to have been written soon after the proclamation against the *drapier* for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this crisis, perhaps, the dean did not chuse to resume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was signed with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for some reason the publication of it was delayed, and it was first printed in an edition of the dean's works published at *Dublin* in 1735. This however is not the only reason why it is placed after the fifth letter, for the fifth letter appears to have been substituted in its stead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth is called the *last*, which could not have happened if both had been parts of the same series.

The reader will now easily account for those passages in the sixth, by which the prosecution against *Harding* appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as past.

A
L E T T E R
TO, THE
LORD CHANCELLOR
MIDDLETON[a].

Written in the Year 1724.

MY LORD,

I Desire you will consider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who speaks to a cause, when the matter hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some months ago I was at your house upon a commission, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not so much on account of the commission, as to ask you some questions concerning Mr. *Wood's* patent to coin half-pence for *Ireland*; where you very freely told me, in a mixt company, how much you had been always against that

[a] He signed the proclamation against the *drapier*.

wicked

wicked project [b]; which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went, in a few days, to make you a visit after many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from *London* (one of which I have seen) empowering those, to whom they were directed, to assure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. *Walpole* for forty thousand pounds of *Wood's* coin to be received in *Ireland*, the said report was false and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And although it be long since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations; yet I have been told by those, who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of *Wood's* patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament; by the privy-council; the lord-mayor and aldermen of *Dublin*; by so many corporations; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen, in most counties, at their quarter-fes-

[b] Lord *Middleton*, though he signed the proclamation against the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to *Wood's* project, as appears by several passages in this letter.

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sions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of these half-pence would, in the universal opinion of our people, be utterly destructive to this kingdom; and, consequently, that it is every man's duty not only to refuse this coin himself, but, as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print, is all a case; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to discourse upon religious or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at least in our church). Neither is this an affair of state, until authority shall think fit to declare it so: or, if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, since the *drapier* will, probably, be no more heard of, so far to supply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious, as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that, preserving both those characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that good spirit raised among them to preserve themselves from utter ruin by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two propositions: First, that we are a most loyal people;

people ; and secondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did, many years ago, in discourse, differ much, in the presence of lord *Wharton*, about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free people ; there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my lord chief justice *Whitshed* would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow : for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be *Libertas & natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both [c].

Now, as for our loyalty to his present majesty ; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded : and I am confident he hath not a minister in *England*, who could ever call it once in question ; but that some hard rumours at least have been transmitted from the other side the water, I suppose you will not doubt : and rumours of the severest kind ; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his emissaries : as if he endeavoured it should be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper.

[c] See *The address to both houses of parliament*, by M. B. drapier.

Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal people; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a king, that a loyal and free people can expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that *Wood's* half-pence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our wishes; although there were no such mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily sorry, that any writer should, in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council to charge him with [*d*] paragraphs “highly reflecting
“ upon his majesty and his ministers; tend-
“ ing to alienate the affections of his good
“ subjects, in *England* and *Ireland*, from
“ each other; and to promote sedition among
“ the people.” I must confess, that with many others I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *drapier* is but one man, I shall think I do a publick service by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* pamphlets to reflect on the king or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflexion cast upon the king on the

[*d*] In the *Drapier's* fourth letter.

subject

subject of Mr. *Wood's* coin: for, in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in *England*, the only two persons hinted at were the duke of *Grafton* and Mr. *Walpole*: the former, as I have heard you, and a hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was passed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and therefore, I suppose, every body believes, that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. *Walpole* was, indeed, supposed to be understood by the letter *W*. in several newspapers; where it is said, that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of *Ireland*; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the *drapier* wholly clears Mr. *Walpole* of this charge by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion that Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood's* projects, which I always contradicted; and, for my own part, never once opened my lips against that minister either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reason for this reservedness was; because it pleased him, in the *queen's* time (I mean queen *Anne* of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me by name in the house of commons, as I was told a very few

few minutes after in the court of *requests* by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here (if any thing here may be called great), cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by publick voice to be chief minister, will, among the general talkers, share the blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many instances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the [*e*] greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.

But, whatever unpleasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr. *Walpole* on account of those half-pence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many persons of credit come from *England* have affirmed to me and others, that they have seen letters under his hand full of arrogance and insolence towards *Ireland*, and boasting of his favour with Mr. *Walpole*; which is highly probable; because he reasonably thought it for his interest to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the people of *Ireland* from learning any bad lesson out of the *drapier's* pamphlets with regard to his majesty with his ministers: and therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition

[*e*] *Supposed to be the lord treasurer Oxford.*

among

among us, God be thanked, the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of *England* and *Ireland* from each other; I believe the *drapier*, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most men in the dispositions of each people towards the other. By the people I understand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of *England*, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more of it than they do of *Mexico*: farther than that it is a country subject to the king of *England*, full of boggs, inhabited by wild *Irish papists*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for *England*, if this whole island were sunk into the sea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in *Ireland*. I have seen the grossest suppositions pass upon them: that the *wild Irish* were taken in toys; but that, in some time, they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your hands: I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours

bours, your tenants, at *Pepperhara*, whether I had come from *Ireland* by sea: and upon the arrival of an *Irishman* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman now in *Dublin* affirms, that, passing some months ago through *Northampton*, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon asking the cause, he was told, it was for joy, that the *Irish* had submitted to receive *Wood's* half-pence. This, I think, plainly shews what sentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own case; although they lie directly in our way to *London*, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of *Irish papists*, who are as inconsiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of *English protestants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may, possibly, sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used: however, I confess, I do not see that it is of any great consequence, how their personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those from *England* have reason to complain, when they
come

come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of *Ireland* have reason to boast, when they go to *England* upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free people: this, I suppose, you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both houses of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it must follow, that the people of *Ireland* do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law; such as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free people cannot, by law, be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver; I do not see any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of *William Wood*; who is endeavouring, by fraud, to rob us of that property, which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier's* case in another light by supposing, that a person going into his shop should agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces intrinsically not worth above a crown: I desire

fire to know whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty shillings; and how far he could be said to be master of his property? The same question may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it stands in the view of the world.

One *William Wood*, Esq; and hard-wareman, obtains, by fraud, a patent in *England*, to coin 108,000 *l.* in copper to pass in *Ireland*, leaving us liberty to take or to refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to justify these declarations, they generally offer two reasons; first, because by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice; and secondly, because they are not obliged by law: so that you see there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and *William Wood* on the other. And if Mr. *Wood* gets the victory, at the expence of *Ireland's* ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both present and future ages will, at least, think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon it as my duty, so far as God
hath

hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no, not so much as one single half-penny. For if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself leave to suppose that what I say can either offend my [*f*] *lord lieutenant*, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness) or the ministers in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the *privy-council* here; who, as I am informed, did send an address to his majesty against Mr. *Wood's* coin; which, if it be a mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a spreader of false news: but I confess, I am so great a stranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may since have been changed: and although I observed some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin, which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the *drapier*, yet, possibly, they may be different persons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

[*f*] Lord Carteret, now earl Granville.

In

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St. *George's* channel, his majesty's prerogative, perhaps, would not have been mentioned, if Mr. *Wood* and his advocates had not made it necessary, by giving out, that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty; and, accordingly in one of his former pamphlets, he produced invincible arguments (wherever he picked them up) that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed on the subject, except gold and silver; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier* having not received any publick censure, I look upon them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr. *Wood*. As for this last letter, against which a proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal; but being naturally

turally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those, who profess good designs without any visible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter [g] is, where the *drapier* affirms, that, if a rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of *England*, he would venture so far to transgress the *Irish* statute, which unites *Ireland* to *England* under one king, as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of *Ireland*.

I shall not presume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would transgress a statute; and a statute of such importance: but, with the most humble submission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be, at least, some small extenuation of his crime: for, in this I confess myself to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections against that pamphlet; but, I suppose, they will all appear at the prosecution of the *drapier*. And, I think, whoever in his own conscience believes the said pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his majesty and*

[g] Letter IV. see the note prefixed to this letter.

his

ministers, &c. would do well to discover the author (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) although the reward of 300*l.* had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers, upon this case. Because you cannot but know, there often happens occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore it hath been the wisdom of *English* parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr. *Wood* and his coin; since the two houses gave their opinion by addresses, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to *Ireland*, it was, without all question, both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular persons, to whom God hath given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into parliament a
few

few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of some without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon publick matters: because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a publick error prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath some share in the publick; and therefore the care of the publick is, in some degree, every such man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer so much as to mention the prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatsoever: I know it is often debated in *Westminster-hall*; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books.

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon this subject, which is not sterling; such as lead, brass, copper, mixt metal, shells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phrase of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*, and wherein that *dependency* consisteth?

Lastly,

Lastly, In what points relating to *liberty* and *property* the people of *Ireland* differ, or at least *ought* to differ, from those of *England*?

If these particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom; and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My lord *Sommers*, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of *Ireland* differed, as far as heaven and earth, from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of parliament, should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means, he said, the publick often suffered great inconveniences, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person to justify my desires, that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment how far a writer may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly, by the oratory and comments of lawyers, be charged with many crimes, which, from his very soul, he abhors; and, consequently, may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known, in my life-time, a printer prosecuted and convicted for publishing a [b] pamph-

[b] Supposed to be, *A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*, written by the author.

let,

let, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people, under my inspection, upon the subject of Mr. *Wood's* coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would insure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.

I have heard the late chief justice *Holt* affirm, that, in all criminal cases, the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in *Kent*, where Sir *George Rooke* was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer, for the *defendant*, brought off his client by alledging, that the words were not injurious: for knave, in the old and true signification, imported only a servant; and villain in *Latin*, is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a bailly.

If Sir *John Holt's* opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer, with a very small measure of discretion, might easily be safe; but I doubt, in practice, it hath been frequently controuled,

at least before his time : for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a passage of signor *Leti* an *Italian* ; who, being in *London*, busying himself with writing the history of *England*, told king *Charles* the second, that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as *Solomon*. The king answered, that, if this were the case, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs as *Solomon* did : but *Leti* lay under no publick necessity of writing ; neither would *England* have been one half-penny the better or the worse, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected ; what have private men to do with the publick ? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state ? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop ; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders ? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors hourly watching over the publick-weal ? All this may be true : and yet when the addressees from both houses of parliament against Mr. *Wood's* half pence failed of success, if some pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin,
to

to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner, and to lay open the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin, I might appeal to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow mis-informations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but, as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the *drapier* doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. *Wood* and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs in the *drapier's* last pamphlet [i] (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that

[i] The fourth Letter.

memorable proclamation against the *drapier*, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. *Wood*, or his coin.

Therefore, concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue, upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr. *Wood*; at the same time carefully watching every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the publick censure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief justice *Whitshed* as a criminal. Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men, upon the highest penalties, to offer any thing in writing or discourse against Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: for, although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience, and the publick safety.

I desire to put a case, which, I think, the *drapier* in some of his books hath put before me; although not so fully as it requires.

You know the copper half-pence in *England* are coined by the publick; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the publick coinage, a patent had been granted to
some

some private, obscure person for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in this; and all of it at least five times below the intrinsic value: the current money of *England* is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under [k] five hundred thousand pounds: by this computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; so the patentee in *England*, by the same proportion might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion; what success they probably would have had; and how many *drapiers* would have risen to pester the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours in the like case; because, their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious thrifty men until better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the publick, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so very different a manner, in a point of such high importance; whether it be on account of *Poining's* act; of subordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

[k] It is since sunk to 200,000l.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr. *Wood* will affect you less than any person of consequence in this kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in *England*; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase; because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent: and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixt copper at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live in ease and plenty at *Pepper-hara* in *Surry*; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and publick spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute by shewing, without reserve, your disapprobation of Mr. *Wood's* design; at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which, indeed, I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers, when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier's* observation. If these half-pence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us,
until

until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a necessity of transmitting money from *England* to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for instance) could support his dignity with a thousand pounds a year in *Wood's* coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near two hundred. To argue that these half-pence, if no other coin were current, would answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake, and the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by shewing us what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large in his second or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that, for several months past, there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best publick principle, the love of our country, than, perhaps, hath been known in any other nation in so short a time: I speak in general from the *drapier* down to the maker of *ballads*; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured by persons of credit, that the best ballad upon Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a groat to the author; and

and the unfortunate adventurer *Harding* [1] declares he never made the *drapier* any present, except one pair of scissars. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject, and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon myself, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

All that the publick can expect for the future is, only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier's* reasons. For a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it, while he writes in constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himself, under a prosecution from my lord chief justice *Whitshed*. It calls to my remembrance the madman in don *Quixote*, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but, if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us for opposing this fatal project of Mr. *Wood*, my pains will not be altogether lost.

[1] The printer of the *Drapier's* letters.

I sent

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain) who, after many alterations, returned them back with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflexion, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the *bell-man* of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *Past twelve a clock; Beware of Wood's half-pence*; it would, probably, cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets; provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of *St. Patrick's*; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But, if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings, or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of *Mr. Wood*, I will obey as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflexion upon the wisdom of my countrymen: but only these few words, *BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE*.

I am,

with due respect,

Deanry-house,

Oct. 26, 1724.

your most obedient,

humble servant,

J. S.

AN

AN HUMBLE
ADDRESS [m]

TO

Both Houses of Parliament.

By M. B. Drapier.

*Multa gemens plagasque superbi
Victoris.*

I HAVE been told, that *petitions* and *addresses*, to either king or parliament, are the right of every subject; provided they consist with that respect, which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I re-

[m] This address is without a date; but it appears to have been written during the first session of parliament in lord *Carteret's* government, though it did not appear till it was inserted with the preceding letter in the *Dublin* edition of 1735.

Among other accuracies in the *Irish* edition, two dates are assigned to the following tract; in the advertisement prefixed, it is said to have been written the first session of *Carteret's* government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival.

member,

member, that the modest *proposals* or *opinions* of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the style of *advice*; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if *proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope, every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's *wishes*. For instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further laws were enacted for the advancement of *trade*, for the improvement of *agriculture*, now strangely neglected against the maxims of all wise nations; for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees: for setting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty *wish* of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this session would *begin* by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, hard-ware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appears by your own votes and addresses, procured a patent in *England* for coining half-pence in that kingdom to be current here. This, I say, is the *wish* of the whole nation, *very few excepted*; and, upon account of those *few* is more strongly and justly the *wish* of the rest: those *few* consisting either of *Wood's* confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgment and strong ambition, who think to find their accounts

counts in the ruin of the nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And because such men proceed upon a system of politicks, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen hundred pounds a year, salary and perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be on foot; such, for instance, as this of *Wood*; which, if it succeed, in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half (although I am confident, it would have done so five sixths). Suppose, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this project, *will please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted*: nothing then remains, but to compute and ballance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This, at 1500*l.* a year, amounts, in ten years, to 15,000*l.* My estate, by the success of the said project, sinks 400*l.* a year; which, at twenty years purchase, is but 8000*l.* so that I am clear gainer of 7000*l.* upon the ballance. And during all that period I am possessed of *power* and *credit*, can gratify my *favourites*, and take vengeance on my *enemies*. And, if the project miscarry, my private *merit* is still entire. This

arithmetick, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practised, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the *ruin* or *safety* of a nation: although, probably, the charity and virtue of a *senate* will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise lord *Bacon* mentions a sort of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would *set a house on fire* for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to observe, the course of publick affairs in this kingdom from the time of the *revolution*, must acknowledge, that the highest points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons, upon the very principles and *arithmetick*, that I have supposed: the only wonder is, how these *artists* were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even publick assemblies to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience *latitude* enough for *vice*, if a man in *station* be allowed to act injustice upon the *usual* principles of *getting a bribe*, *wreaking his malice*, *serving his party*, or *consulting his preferment*, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of *particular* persons. But to deliver up our *whole* country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to *certain* destruction, hath not,

as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *casuists* on the side of *corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding *any* employment whatsoever above the degree of a *constable* (according to the scheme and intention of a [n] *great minister gone to his own place*), than to live under the daily apprehension of a few *false brethren* among ourselves. Because, in the former case, we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; since none could *then* have impudence enough to *pretend* any publick good.

It is true, that, in this desperate affair of the new *half-pence*, I have not heard of any man, above my own degree of a shop-keeper, to have been hitherto so bold, as in *direct terms* to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of some very *mollifying expressions* which were used, and very *gentle expedients* proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate: but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own ruin in the success of *Wood's* attempt, these *grand compounders* have been more cautious.

But that the same spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other instances of great compliance) from *certain circumstances*, that have attended some *late proceedings* [o] in a *court of judicature*. There is not

[n] The late earl of *Sunderland*.

[o] By lord chief justice *Whitshed*, whose method,
any

any common-place more frequently insisted on by those, who treat of our constitution, than the great happiness and excellency of trials by *juries*; yet, if this blessed part of our law be eludible at pleasure by the force of *power, frowns, and artifice*, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in *Europe*. And surely these *high* proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the *life-blood* of the people, their *necessary subsistence*, their very *food* and *raiment*, and even the *publick peace*, will not allow any favourable *appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *super-abundant zeal* could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to *damp* that *spirit* raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of *William Wood* and his *abettors*; to which *spirit* alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being hitherto preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by *your* wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanor upon a more *charitable* foundation, than that of putting our interest in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly

with a jury, may be seen in the note which follows the *Proposal for the use of Irish manufactures*, and that at the end of *Seasonable advice to the grand jury*.

allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his acquaintance to shew the bad consequences that might follow from any publick resentment to the disadvantage of his *ally*, Mr. *Wood*; principally alledging the danger of all employments being disposed of from *England*. One of these *emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *topick*: I answered naturally, that I knew there was no office of *any* kind, which a man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of *leasers* and *gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who entreated his *ass* to fly for fear of being taken by the *enemy*; but the *ass* refused to give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason; because he could not possibly change his present master for a *worse*: the *enemy* could not make him *fare harder*, *beat him more cruelly*, or load him with *heavier burthens*.

Upon these and many other considerations, I may affirm it to be the *wish* of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of *juries* were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by publick *censure*; not from any hope that such a *censure* will amend their *practices*,

practices, or hurt their *interest* (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*) but that the nation may know their *enemies* from their *friends*.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself; for I write in great security; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my expence, further than by shewing their *zeal* to *discover, prosecute, and condemn me* for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country: and yet I am conscious to myself, that I never had the least intention to *reflect on his majesty's ministers*, nor on any other person, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of *that number*. However, some would have it, that I *went too far*; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have *gone further*, and I think I could not easily have *fared worse*. And therefore I was no further affected with *their proclamation*, and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the *sins* of the people. And as to the poor *printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a *righteous* tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies the general wishes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal *wish*, that your *first* proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of *William Wood*; so I must add, as the universal opinion, that all *schemes of commutation, composition*, and the like *expedients*, either

avowed or *implied*, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the publick ; against the dignity of a *free* kingdom ; and prove an encouragement to future *adventurers* in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a *connivance* to admit one thousand pounds in these *half-pence*, will produce, in time, the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consented to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more safe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present (which however God forbid) and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those *palliatives* which *weak, perfidious, or abject politicians* are, upon all *occasions*, and in all *diseases*, so ready to *administer*.

In the small compass of my reading (which however hath been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling) I have observed that *grievances* have always preceded *supplies*, and if ever *grievances* had a title to such a pre-eminence, it must be this of *Wood* : because it is not only the greatest *grievance* that any country could suffer, but a *grievance* of such a kind, that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *supplies* at all, except in *adulterate copper* ; unless a tax were laid for paying the civil and military lists, and the *large* pen-
sions,

sions, with real commodities instead of money; which however might be liable to some few objections, as well as difficulties: for although the *common soldiers* might be content with *beef* and *mutton*, and *wool*, and *malt*, and *leather*; yet I am in some doubt as to the *generals*, the *colonels*, the *numerous pensioners*, the *civil officers*, and others, who all live in *England* upon *Irish pay*, as well as those *few* who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which, although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost *astonishment*.

After the unanimous addresses to his sacred majesty against this patent of *Wood* from both houses of parliament, which are the *three estates* of the kingdom; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is intrusted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in *London*. *Wood*, and his adherents, are heard on one side; and a few *volunteers*, without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of *half-pence* in *Ireland*: witnesses are called on the behalf of *Wood* (of what

credit I have formerly shewn [*p*]) upon the issue the patent is found good and legal; all his majesty's officers here (not excepting the *military*) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of *Dublin*, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever; and the whole kingdom of *Ireland* nonsuited in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause, between *John Dow*, plaintiff, and *William Row*, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in *London*, I have not understood them to be our *governors*, *counsellors*, or *judges*. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, whether *Ireland* wanted *half-pence*. For there is no doubt, but we do want both half-pence, gold, and silver; and we have *numberless* other wants, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation: to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with *religion* and *laws*, or any degree of *soil* and *sunshine*: but for what *demerit* on our side I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of half-pence was either affirmed, or denied in

[*p*] In letter III.

any

any of our addressees or declarations against those of *Wood*. We alledged the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his patent, the baseness of his metal, and the prodigious sum he coined; which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very *limited* and *discouraged* trade. We urged, that the patent was passed without the least reference hither; and without mention of any *security* given by *Wood* to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases. These, and many other arguments were offered; but still the patent went on, and, at this day, our ruin would have been half completed, if God, in his mercy, had not raised an universal detestation of these halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them, since we are not under obligations to do so by any *law* either *human* or *divine*.

But, in the name of *God* and of all *justice* and *piety*, when the king's majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood, that he *conceived*, *believed*, and *intended* it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom; of the most *loyal* kingdom upon earth, where no *hand* or *voice* was ever lifted up against him; a kingdom,

dom, where the passage is not of three hours from *Britain*, and a kingdom where *papists* have less *power*, and less *land* than in *England*? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, *the good of this nation*, when they advised the passing this patent? Can the *person* of *Wood* be otherwise regarded, than as the *instrument*, the *mechanick*, the *bead-workman*, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps? If I employ a *shoe-boy*, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the *person* of *William Wood* alone; because *no other* appears, and we are not to reason upon *surmises*; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore (for we cannot do less) that this patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a *wise publick-spirited* ministry, for the advantage of *Ireland*; yet when the whole kingdom, to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do, upon maturest consideration, universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these half-pence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to complete the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country: *is it, was it, can it, or will it* ever be a question, not whether such a kingdom, or *William Wood*, should be a gainer; but whether such a kingdom should be *wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated*, made a scene of
misery

misery and desolation, for the sake of *William Wood*? God, of his infinite mercy, avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our universal *wish*, that God would put it into *your* hearts to be his instruments for so good a work.

For my own part, who am but *one* man, of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare, in the presence of almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death, rather than submit to receive this *accursed coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of *my own country*; and, if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some *foreign* land, and eat the *bread of poverty* among a *free* people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions; shall *another proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my country's part against *William Wood*, where her final destruction is intended? But whenever you shall please to impose *silence* upon me, I will submit; because I look upon your *unanimous voice* to be the *voice* of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in some manner the *voice* of *God*.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at *mercy* under so *vile* an adversary, is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth: and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment, as is worthy of a *parliament*.

It is likewise our universal *wish*, that his majesty should grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament *here* shall advise: since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every *petty* prince abroad; and was always practised by *Scotland* to the very time of the *union*; yet surely *Scotland*, as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself a fourth part the value of *Ireland* (for bishop *Burnet* says, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of *Britain*); and with respect to the profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess, that a *mote* in the *eye*, or a *thorn* in the *side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *beam* or a *spike* at a *distance*.

The histories of *England*, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects from the abuses of *coin*, by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon *occasions*, to the publick loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in *England*, and another very lately in *France*. It is the *tenderest* point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is *arbitrary* or *unsettled*, no man can well be said to have any *property* at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some *indulgence* from *England*; not
only

only upon the score of *Christianity*, *natural equity*, and the *general rights of mankind*, but chiefly on account of that *immense profit* they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very *different* figure in *Europe*, from what it doth at present.

The rents of land in *Ireland*, since they have been *of late* so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part, at least, is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual absentees in *England*; as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers, and *England* a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those, who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The *occasional* absentees, for business, health, or diversion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the *post-office*.

The *numerous pensions* paid to persons in *England*.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in *England*, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income. The

The vast charge of appeals to the house of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to *England* for coals; whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from *England*; the effects of our own *great wisdom* in discouraging *agriculture*.

The *kind* liberty granted us of wearing *Indian* stuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, besides the profit to *England* [q], is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to *England*, by selling them *all* our *wool* at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost: *a proceeding without example in the Christian or heathen world*.

Our own *wool* returned upon us in *English* manufactures, to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of *England*.

The full profit of all our *mines* accruing to *England*; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

[q] From whence these commodities were exported to *Ireland*, the *East-India* company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured.

An

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in *England* [r].

These and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near seven hundred thousand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to *England*. And upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of *commerce*, he shall find, that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a *loser*, which we do not possess in the *biggest perfection*; somewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of *analogy* to *William Wood*; and now the *branches* are all cut off, he stands ready with his *ax* at the *root*.

Upon this subject of *perpetual absentees*, I have spent some time in very insignificant reflexions; and, considering the usual motives of human actions, which are *pleasure*, *profit*, and *ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those *English* peers or gentlemen, who, besides their estates at home, have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords, and wealthy knights, or squires, whose birth, and partly their education and *all* their fortune (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances) are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during several

[r] Many of the above articles have been since particularly computed by another writer, to whose treatise the reader is referred.

years,

years, when I resided in *England*; and truly I could not discover, that the *figure* they made was by any means a subject for *envy*, at least it gave me *two very different passions*. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an *opera*, or sometimes appearing *behind a croud* at court, or adding to the ring of *coaches* in *Hide-Park*, or losing their money at the *chocolate-house*, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in *Dublin*; I say, besides these, and a few other privileges of *less* importance, their temptations to live in *London* were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder, how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign* country, when he might live with lustre in *his own*; and even at less than half that expence, which he *strains* himself to make without obtaining any *one* end, except that which happened to the *frog*, when he would needs contend for size with the *ox*. I have been told by scholars, that *Cæsar* said he would rather be the *first* man in I know not what village, than the *second* in *Rome*. This, perhaps, was a thought only fit for *Cæsar*: but to be *preceded* by *thousands* and *neglected* by *millions*; to be wholly without *power*, *figure*, *influence*, *honour*, *credit*, or *distinction*, is not, in my poor opinion, a very *amiable situation* of life to a person of *title* or *wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *shine* in his native country.

But,

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country seats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to supply expences in *England*; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons hath been the cause of *another fatal consequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very considerable* number of lords, who possess the ablest fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the affairs of their country in *parliament*; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house would, in all human probability, have prevented *certain proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*, because they *never can be remedied*: and we might have then *decided our own properties among ourselves*, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to *another kingdom* for justice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of *servitude* without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of *England* were so desirous to determine *our* controversies; because I have been assured, and *partly know*, that the frequent *appeals* from hence have been very *irksome* to that illustrious body: and whoever hath frequented the *painted chamber* and *courts of requests* must have observed, that they are never so *nobly* filled, as when an *Irish* appeal is under debate.

The

The peers of *Scotland*, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that *bleak and barren climate*; and although some of them made frequent journies to *London*, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made *England* their constant habitation before the *union*: or if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own advantage*; and whatever they got was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and, by that means, enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *absentees* under the degree of *peers*; what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may, perhaps, be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether those, who live in another kingdom upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it*; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant seats*, who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and, consequently, can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced: this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, *if it be a question at all*.

But, besides the prodigious profit which *England* receives by the transmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of this whole king-

kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *disburthen* themselves of their *supernumerary* pretenders to offices; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employments* are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say, what *Luther* said of himself, *POOR Ireland maketh many rich*.

If amidst all our difficulties I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what *possible* advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the *regular seeds* of *party* and *faction* among us are entirely rooted out, and, if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our *birth-place* and *climate*.

The *parties* in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the pretender*; and those, who were *zealous opposers of him*. Secondly, of those who were *for and against a toleration of dissenters by law*. Thirdly, of *high or low church*; or (to speak in the *cant* of the times) of *whig and tory*. And fourthly, of *court and country*. If there be any more, they are beyond

beyond my observation or politicks: for as to *subaltern* or *occasional parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the same originals.

Now it is manifest, that all these incitements to *faction*, *party*, and *division*, are wholly removed from among us. For as to the *pretender*, his cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others the obligation of conscience hath no place [s]: even the *papists* in general of any substance or estates, and their *priests* almost universally, are what we call *whigs*, in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the *smart*, and see the *scars* of their former *wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *sacrifice* to the least attempts towards a *change*; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *superstition* restored under any prince whatsoever.

Secondly, The *dissenters* are now *tolerated* by law; neither do we observe any *murmurs* at present from that quarter, except those *reasonable* complaints they make of *persecution*, because they are excluded from civil employments; but, their number being very small in either *house* of parliament, they are not yet in a situation to erect a *party*: be-

[s] The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.

cause, however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are *now* grown wise enough to know, that, if such a *latitude* were allowed to *dissenters*, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find *other hands* to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, The dispute between *high* and *low church* is now at an end; two thirds of the *bishops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and most of them from *England*, who have bestowed *all* preferments in their gift to those they could well *confide in*: The *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess *such a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* subject.

Lastly, As to *court* and *country parties*, so famous and avowed under most reigns in *English* parliaments: this kingdom hath not, for several years past, been a proper scene, whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in *distant* hands, and the *reversions* diligently watched and secured; the temporary ones of any *inviting* value are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like myself. And therefore, to institute a *court* and *country party* without *materials*, would be a very new system in politicks,

politicks, and what, I believe, was never thought on before; nor unless in *a nation of ideots* can ever succeed, for the most ignorant *Irish* cottager will not *sell his cow for a groat*.

Therefore I conclude, that all *party and faction*, with regard to publick proceedings, are now extinguished in this kingdom [t]; neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly *revive*; unless some new causes be administered; which cannot be done without *crossing the interests of those, who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures*. And general calamities, *without hope of redress*, are allowed to be the great *uniter*s of mankind.

However we may dislike the *causes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an universal concord among us in all *national debates*; as well as in *cities, corporations, and country neighbour-hoods* may keep us, at least, alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace and amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the *subject of the quarrel*; which, when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our case, I hope the *latter*

[t] Since this discourse was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much mistaken in his conjectures.

will

will be so too; that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *something* that may give us a title to fall out, since nature hath instructed even a brood of *goslings* to *stick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wishes the same thing with relation to the publick, may, in several points of the greatest importance, in some measure supply the *defect of power*, and even *of those rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind*. If the universal *wish* of the nation, upon any point, were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of lords, I should think myself obliged in conscience to act in my sphere according to that vote; because, in all free nations, I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of those who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such *votes or declarations* have not received such a confirmation for certain *accidental reasons*; yet, I think, they ought to be of much weight with the *subject*, provided they neither oppose the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for instance, if nine in ten of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare,

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clare,

clare, that whoever received or uttered *brass coin*, except under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation*; I should think it a heinous sin in myself to act contrary to such a vote: and, if the same power should declare the same *censure* against those, who wore *Indian stuffs and callicoes, or woollen manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, I should *readily, heartily, and chearfully* pay obedience; and to my utmost power persuade others to do the like: because there is no *law* of this land obliging us either to *receive such coin*, or to *wear such foreign manufactures*.

Upon this last article [*u*] I could humbly wish, that the reverend the *clergy* would set us an example, by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of *Irish* drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the *laity*, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the *cheapness*, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable body. And in order to this [*w*] I could

[*u*] This hath since been put in practice by the persuasions and influence of the supposed author; but much defeated by the most infamous fraud of shop-keepers.

[*w*] This scheme was likewise often urged to the weavers by the supposed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice.

heartily

heartily desire, that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade would contrive some decent stuffs and silks for *clergymen* at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporations of *weavers* in silk and woollen would publish some *proposals* (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament) inviting persons of all degrees, and of both sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening. So that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or, if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman, who did me the wrong, should be published; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, beside the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dextrous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation; and the gentry call for *English* cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have (and often too justly

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by

by our own faults) that the *goodness* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen, upon any great demand of goods, either at home or from abroad, to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of this foul and foolish proceedings too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received such a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of *Wood's* project could outdo it. During the late plague in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to *Spain*: but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the *northern* weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that, if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to *Spain* would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of *traytors*, and *enemies* to God and their country; who,
for

for the prospect of a little *present* gain, do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an *example* to the rest, and a *blessing* to the nation) but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to those who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marseilles*, those wretches would have died with less title to *pity*, than a *highwayman* going to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that, for *some time past*, all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the publick service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to my knowledge, hath been the style of *some persons*, whose *ancestors* (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves* have been *flying in princes faces* these fourscore years; and, from their own inclinations, would do so still, if their interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for such a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a discourse [x] was published endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the king, and without the least *party hint*, it was termed, *flying in the king's*

[x] The Proposal for the universal use of *Irish* manufactures.

face; the *printer* was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and, I hope, *it will somewhere be remembered further*, the jury kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a *special verdict*; the judge [y] on the bench *invoking God for his witness*, when he asserted, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of *Wood's* coin were called, by the same persons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny; for I cannot allow that *vile* representation of the royal *countenance* in *William Wood's* adulterate copper to be his sacred majesty's *face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *impression*, but the *baseness* of the *metal*; because I well remembered, that the *image* which *Nebuchadnezar* commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship it, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few royal images of that *metal* among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our veneration for his majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* and *satisfaction*.

Alexander the great would suffer no statuary, except *Phidias*, to carve his image in

[y] Judge *Whitshed*.

stone

stone or metal. How must he have treated such an operator as *Wood*, who goes about with *sack-fulls* of *dross*, odiously misrepresenting his prince's *countenance*; and would force them, by thousands, upon every one of us at above *six times the value*.

But, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himself, together with his *favourers*, *abettors*, *supporters*, either *publick* or *private*; by those who *connive* at this project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *opposers* for fear of lessening their *favour*, or hazarding their *employments*; by those, who endeavour to *damp* the *spirit* of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as by their *writings* or *discourses* do all they can to keep it up; by those *softners*, *sweetners*, *compounders*, and *expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their *heads* so strongly that we can *hear their pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of such *enemies* to the kingdom I was *flying in the king's face*; or thought they were better *representers* of his majesty, than that very *coin*, for which they are *secret* or *open* advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those *wishes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, That an end might be put to our apprehensions of *Wood's* half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* destructive scheme for the future,

Secondly, That half-pence might be coined in this kingdom by a publick mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, That the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of commons, were declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty votes*, against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing *Indian* silks or callicoes, which are forbidden, under the highest penalties, in *England*: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation; because we are under a *greater necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in *England*.

Fourthly, That some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives in all those parts of this kingdom, where the *Irish* abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And, if I had in me the least spirit of a *projector*, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge.

Fifthly, That due encouragement should be given to *agriculture*; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance;

distance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, That the defects in those acts for planting forest trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen: and even there, in general, very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity, for want of skill and industry. The neglect of *copsing* woods cut down hath likewise been of very evil consequences. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods*, before the proper times, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example, in *Europe*, of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in *shipping* or *building*.

I may add, that absurd practice of cutting *turf* without any regularity; whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholesome by stagnating pools and marshes; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed of cutting *scraws* (as they call them) which is flaying
ing

ing of the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and sometimes in low ground, with a thin green sward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard, from very skilful countrymen, that, by these two practices in *turf* and *scraws*, the kingdom loseth some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; besides the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because, in some periods of my life, I had opportunity and curiosity to observe, from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured, by all possible means to avoid. And, for the same reason, I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But,

But, as to the lands of those who are *perpetual absentees*, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times, their tenants sat at easy rents; but, for some years past, they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of *merciless agents* from *England*, than even those who held under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place, by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious estate, in the county of *Cork*, being let upon leases for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was so high, that the tenants begged leave to surrender their *leases*, and were content to lose their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a subject worthy of the highest enquiry in any country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest importance; whereof I defy the most learned man, in *Europe*, to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the *benefit* which *God* and *nature* intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy situation for commerce*, and the *great number of our excellent ports*. So that, I think, little is left us besides the cultivating our own soil, encouraging *agriculture*, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the necessity of sending for *corn* and *bark* from *England*, and *timber* from other countries.

countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in *England*: that few *politicians*, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a commonwealth, as an *honest farmer*; who, by skillfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual service* to his country; which it is a great controversy whether any of the *former* ever did, since the creation of the world; but no controversy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

A FULL

A FULL AND TRUE
A C C O U N T
OF THE

*Solemn Procession to the Gallows, at the
Execution of WILLIAM WOOD,
Esquire, and Hard-ware-man.*

Written in the Year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread, that *William Wood*, hard-ware-man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's [x] house here in *Dublin*, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both sexes, croud-
ed about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner and a counter-
feiter. Amongst the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner observed, that they all discovered their resentment in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to

[x] One *Molyneux*, an ironmonger,

publish

publish them for the use of those, who, at any time hereafter, may be at a loss for proper words wherein to express their good dispositions towards the said *William Wood*.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament man, *expel* him the house.

2^d Parliament man, I second that *motion*.

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2^d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full*.

3^d Cook. I'll gim a *lick* in the *chops*.

4th Cook. I'll *sowce* him.

Drunken man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.

Bookseller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.

Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.

Glazier. I'll make the *light* shine through him.

Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.

Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.

Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.

2^d Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.

School-master. I'll make him an *example*.

Rabbit-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.

Paviour. I'll *thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.

WHIG. *Down* with him.

TORY. *Up* with him.

Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.

2^d Miller.

2^d Miller. *Dam* him.

Boat-man. *Sink* him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.

Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.

Bagnio-man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.

Whore. *Pox* rot him.

2^d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.

3^d Whore. *Clap* him up.

Mustard-maker. I'll have him by the *nose*.

Curate. I'll make the *devil* come out of him.

Popish-priest. I'll send him to the *devil*.

Dancing-master. I'll teach him better *man-*
ners.

2^d Dancing-master. I'll make him cut a *ca-*
per three story high.

Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.

Taylor. I'll sit on his *skirts*.

2^d Taylor. *Hell* is too good for him.

3^d Taylor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.

4th Taylor. I'll make his a—— make *But-*
tons.

Basket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fidler. I'll have him by the *ears*.

2^d Fidler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.

Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.

2^d Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.

3^d Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.

4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.

Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.

Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoak*.

2^d Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.

Gold-finder. I'll make him *stink*.

18 THE DRAPIER

that you have no commo
in your view, not even
neither do you know,
who are your friends,
emies.

About four years ago
written to advise all peo
factures of this our own
had no other design, sai
king or parliament, or a
yet the poor printer was
with the utmost violen
weavers themselves (f
written) being upon th
guilty. This would be
any man from endeavou
when you will either n
his face for his pains; an
pect only *danger to him*,
and imprisoned, perhaps

However, I cannot
more of the manifest de
eyes, if you do not beha
ought.

I will therefore first te
of the *fact*; and then I
how you ought to act, in
according to the laws of

The *fact* is this: It
years since COPPER HAL
THINGS were last coined
they have been, for some

[a] *A proposal for the use of*

Wood, Esq; represented an old piece of carved steel of a ship. Upon his face were several pieces of his life, and to signify his age. He wore on his head a cap fully composed of iron, and about his neck served as a collar. His boots were, indeed, of iron, as is usual with persons of his rank. Some censorious persons (for he was covered with several colours in his coat) upon the shoulders.

In his march he often bowed on his knees to the company; and his countenance, was very

his father alone, in his hat over his head, and in his left-hand to

the executioner himself. His terrible aspect drew upon him; and he was bound by a halter, round his neck, and over his shoulder as the

hand in hand;

Wood's brother-
Cadler, his intimate

mate

Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his driver.

2^d *Hackney-coachman.* I'll drive him to the devil.

Butcher. I'll have a limb of him.

2^d *Butcher.* Let us blow him up.

3^d *Butcher.* My knife in him.

Nurse. I'll swaddle him.

Anabaptist. We'll dip the rogue in the pond.

Ostler. I'll rub him down.

Shoe-maker. Set him in the stocks.

Banker. I'll kick him to half crowns.

2^d *Banker.* I'll pay him off.

Bowler. I'll have a rubber with him.

Gamester. I'll make his bones rattle.

Bodice-maker. I'll lace his sides.

Gardiner. I'll make him water his plants.

Ale-wife. I'll reckon with him.

Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his horns.

Old Woman. I'll mumble him.

Hangman. I'll throttle him.

But at last the people, having received assurances, that *William Wood* was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigie; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, The way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then

Then appeared *William Wood*, Esq; represented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed at proper distances several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck served him for a cravat. His cloaths were, indeed, not so neat and elegant as is usual with persons in his condition (which some censorious people imputed to affectation) for he was covered with a large rugg of several colours in patchwork: he was borne upon the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by *St. Stephen's-green*, he often bowed on both sides to show his respects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his left-hand to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himself in person*; whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder as the badge of his office.

Then followed two persons hand in hand; the one represented *William Wood's* brother-in-law; the other a certain *sadler*, his inti-

mate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new half-pence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently sent out loud huzza's; which were censured, by wiser heads, as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. *Wood* himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself, with great resignation, to the hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his
OWN

own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-*timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for, upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an ale-house of distinction, and in a manner, suitable to the quality of the deceased. While the attendants were discoursing about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up and proposed, that the body should be carried out the next day, and burned with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning there appeared a second procession. But, burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corpse was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occasions many speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed,

by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses, that there does not appear the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; no visible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty, I shall leave among naturalists.

A SHORT

A SHORT
VIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND.

Written in the Year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath, for some time, been practised as a method of making men's court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasfing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which, indeed, I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole *island*; I shall only enun.e.ate, by

rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of *Ireland*.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessities and conveniencies of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except those who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreasing

encreasing the number of their people; without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners for education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit, or trust only to the natives; or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the publick revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a publick mint after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to lux-

ury either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I, at present cannot recollect: but, without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine, what share falls to *Ireland* of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; because those, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty: and, in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave the others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the *exchange*.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bogg and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in *England*; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms

doms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which however we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and heavens, which nature hath bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, *Ireland* is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years it can hardly be said, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as

O 6

grievous

grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to ; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of lord chief-justice *Whitshed's* ghost, with his [*a*] *libertas et natale solum*, written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physick sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease : and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties : in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land ; those few, who attempt that or planting, through covetousness or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were ; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges ; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the *Scythians*, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels ; where they can

[*a*] *Liberty and my native country.*

expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of *Ireland* is spent in *England*; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journies of pleasure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to *England*.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the isle of *Man*, they coin their own *silver*; every petty prince, vassal to the *emperor*, can coin what money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries; particularly a sort of silk plad, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for *Indian*. Even ale and potatoes are imported from *England*, as well as corn; and
our

our foreign trade is little more than importation of *French* wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true (upon which I could easily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what secret method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without *liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining*; without *industry, labour, or improvement of land*; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the *North*, a trade casual, corrupted and at mercy; and some butter from *Cork*. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason; like the thorn at *Glastenbury*, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy *commissioners*, who come from *England*, ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country seats; the commodious farmers houses and barns; the towns and villages, where every body is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet and dress, and dwellings

dwellings of the people ; the vast numbers of ships in our harbours and docks, and shipwrights in our sea-port towns ; the roads crowded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures ; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages !

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress ! what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to *England* !

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer ; for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in *Lapland*, or *Ysland*, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people ; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom ; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead ; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an *English* hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an *English* spectator : who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of *Ireland*, which is not a logical demon-

demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than *English* beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearneſs of land, ſince the ſavers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearneſs of neceſſaries for life: becauſe the tenants cannot afford to pay ſuch extravagant rates for land (which they muſt take or go a begging) without raiſing the price of cattle, and of corn, although themſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our increaſe of buildings in this city; becauſe workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increaſe of *bankers*, who may be a neceſſary evil in a trading country, but ſo ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have ſent away all our ſilver, and one third of our gold; ſo that within three years paſt, the running caſh of the nation, which was about five hundred thouſand pounds, is now leſs than two, and muſt daily diminifh, unleſs we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the iſle of *Man*, and the meaneſt principality in the *German* empire, as I before obſerved.

I have ſometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to thoſe worthy gentlemen the BAN-
KERS;

KERS; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thirsty 'squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of *Ireland*.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered *Pharaoh* to the *Israelites*, when they complained to his majesty, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs*.

I think it a little un hospitable, and others may call it a subtle piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen families, in this town, able to entertain their *English* friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests, upon their return to *England*, shall report that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital, where all the household officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To

To conclude, if *Ireland* be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser at the expence of all honour, conscience, and truth [b].

[b] The present state of *Ireland** is, in general, as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and sciences are encouraged: and, in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved.

* 1752.

ORRERY.

AN

A N
A N S W E R
T O
A P P A P E R
C A L L E D,

A Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Written in the Year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearth of corn; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But, pray, permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many *Irish* farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself;

itself; and when their leases were near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it [c].

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who, upon expiration of the farmers leases, were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land worn out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus, a vast tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers, in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master-grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people.

It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their *knavery, brutality, and folly*. But neither are the *squires and landlords* to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of *beggars*, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* should be limited in ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in *Eng-*

[c] This practice, probably, produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

land;

land; and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a *million of money*; and been more populous by above *two hundred thousand souls*.

For a people, denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a *wild Indian* would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *sheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *sheep*, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to some *few* ports in that country; there is, I say, something so foolish, that it wants a name in our language to

to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more *sheep* we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *flesh*. *Ajax* was mad, when he mistook a flock of *sheep* for his enemies; but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* business is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation: all which are good and useful commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest part of the *hides* are sent out raw for want of *bark* to *tan* them; and that want will daily grow stronger: for, I doubt, the new project, of *tanning* without it, is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets for *the old reasons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as *Egypt* for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of publick œconomy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the *Scythians*, and their posterity our kinsmen the *Tartars*, lived upon the blood, and milk, and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn*: but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without *bread* to my victuals.

What

What amazed me for a week or two, was to see, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *flesh-meat* should be monstrously dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not some regulation in the price of *flesh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is over-stocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white*. And as it is observed, that the poor *Irish* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; so I conceive it much more difficult, at present, to find a fat *bullock* or *wether*, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am assured, that in the district in the several markets, called *carrion-row*, it is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstance of *money to purchase it*, and of *trade, or labour, to purchase that money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of *wheat*, you say, should be imported hither; and ten thousand pounds *premium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation? I am no commissioner of the *treasury*; but am well assured, that the whole running *cash* would

would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much *corn*, which, only at twenty shillings a barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds; and ten thousand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffick for your *corn* with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *absentees*, and other occasions in *London*, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I suppose, they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these *rich farmers* and *engrossers of corn*, in so bad a year, and so little sowing?

You are in pain for two shillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty shillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miserable state* of this nation. *Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloaths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first, because they are unwholesome; and the last, because I should be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our misery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *secret*, which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the *customs* in *London*: they said, when any *commodity* ap-
peared

peared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the consequence was, to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the business of laying *heavy impositions*, two and two never made more than one; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both, who can afford such expences, is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than encreased. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet so preternatural a sum, as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden (for there is no dallying with hunger) is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in *England*; which, as things now stand, would, probably, bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprizing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were starving in a RICH country, *etc.* Are you in earnest? is *Ireland* the *rich country* you mean? or are you insulting our *poverty*? were you ever out of *Ireland*? or were you ever in it till of late? You may, probably,

probably, have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in *England*. But, by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition; or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not be raised here, without a *general excise*; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already, in *taxes*, more than *England* ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Most certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think, your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in *potatoes* and *buttermilk*, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and, I think, if our brethren, in *England*, would contribute, upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of *justice*, as well as *charity*. In the mean time, go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring *squires* to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and

and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising *one hundred and ten thousand pounds*, it is as vain as that of *Rabelais*; which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country.

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have, in vain, given the publick at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I writ was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes. A fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the publick to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants, or cultivating their lands, were

worrying one another upon points of *wbig* and *tory*, of *high church* and *low church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controversy of *strops* [d] for razors: while *agriculture* was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment: *Wisdom crieth in the streets*; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof: I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country, which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God hath given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper, entitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late lord chief-justice *Whitshed* with an appearance of severity: since I may not, probably, have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I chuse to do it here: laying

[d] A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which several competitors eagerly contended.

it therefore down for a *postulatum*, which, I suppose, will be universally granted, that no *little creature*, of so mean a birth and genius, had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I answer thus; whether there be two different goddesses called *Fame*, as some authors contend, or only one goddess sounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people distinguished for their *villainy* have as good a title to a blast from the *proper trumpet*, as those who are most renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world; yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the king, nor him, nor the publick.

What an encouragement to vice is this! If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputa-

tion is safe. For these excellent casuists know just *latin* enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; so that if *Socrates*, and *Anytus* his accuser [e], had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *Hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto*. Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure in some degree: but, in this case, I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake (and probably of their dreams while they sleep), in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in *mischief*, *scandal*, and *obloquy*, with the *hatred* and *contempt* of all mankind against them; but

[e] *Anytus*, one of the wretches who accused *Socrates* of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to subvert the religion of his country.

chiefly

chiefly of those among their own party, and their own family; such, whose *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness, ignorance, vanity, and revenge*, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be some benefit for their survivors, to smell it while it is *rotting*.

I am SIR,

Dublin, March

25, 1728.

Your humble servant,

A. B.

A VIN.

A VINDICATION

Of His Excellency

JOHN Lord CARTERET,

FROM THE

CHARGE of favouring none but *Tories*,
High-church-men, and *Jacobites* [*f*].

Written in the Year 1730.

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give some account of his *excellency*; in whose life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, ancient and most loyal families, the *Carterets*, and the *Granvilles*: too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered, in defending the former constitution

[*f*] The view of this piece seems to be to commend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance.

in

in church and state under king *Charles* the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom *a form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity; as we may read at large in our common-prayer-books; which day hath been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.*

His excellency the present lord was educated in the university of *Oxford*; from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more *greek, latin, and philosophy*, than properly became a person of his rank; indeed much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some bishops, and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension,

hension, eloquence, and wit: and, to finish the work, all these were fortified even in his youth with the advantages received by such employments, as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education; having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal secretary of state at a period, when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house; or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that *greek* and *latin* books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewise assured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of publick affairs.

I own, there may be some grounds for this charge; because I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most unsupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great disadvantage. For
with

with all the accomplishments abovementioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he hath, in a most unexemplary manner, led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem, and friendship, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining evening-companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the person may possibly, in former days, have lain under the imputation of a *tory*; nor at such times do the natural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *pretender* make any part of the conversation: I presume, because neither *Homer*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, nor *Cicero*, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings: yet, I think it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my sentiments differ from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour *Pistorides*. For these have decided the matter directly against me by declaring, that no person, who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single *tory* principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the *sworst* of
 3 *times,*

times [g], should be allowed to come within the verge of the castle; much less to bow in the antichamber, appear at the *assemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare assert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that, on the contrary, a considerable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are now an *ornament, happiness, and support* to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one. I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to discover whether madam *Violante* [h] be a *whig* or *tory* in her principles; or even that she hath ever been *offered the oaths to the government*: on the contrary, I am told, that she openly professeth herself to be a *high-flyer*; and it is not improbable, by her outlandish name, she may also be a *papist* in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female openly caressed by principal persons of both parties; who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a *grand-jury*, or even from squire *Hartley Hutcheson* himself, that zealous prosecutor of *hawkers and libels*. And, as *Hobbes* wisely observes, *so much money be-*

[g] The three last years of queen *Anne*, when lord *Oxford* was minister, were so called by the whigs.

[h] A famous *Italian* rope-dancer.

ing equivalent to *so much power*, it may deserve considering, with what safety such an instrument of *power* ought to be trusted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess, there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many *whigs* in this kingdom of the *old-fashioned stamp*, of whom we might make very good use; they bear the same loyalty with us to the *Hanoverian* family in the person of king *George* the second; the same abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the consequences of *popery* and *slavery*, and the same indulgence to *tender consciences*: but, having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more leisure to think for the publick, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy prospects, concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topicks of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*; who, if they have any thing to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps, one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this species of thinkers, under the names of *torries*, *jacobites*, *papists*, *libellers*, *rets*, &c. and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, bustling, well-meaning mortal *Pistorides*; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one side, and of *aversion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, pestered, and pounded by one single wag, who promiseth never to forsake him, living or dead!

I was much pleased with the humour of a *surgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehension, received some great injustice from the earl of *Galway*, and despairing of revenge, as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had set a-part one hundred guineas to purchase the earl's carcase from the sexton, whenever it should dye, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for three-pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits; against whom there is no defence but innocence and philosophy; neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to down-right stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable creature *Traulus*; who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to outdo even the genius of *Pistorides* in that miscarrying talent of railing without consistency

ency or discretion against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an *honest* gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one, to whom he professeth the greatest friendship; provided he acts in the dark, so as not to be discovered: but, in the midst of *caresses, visits, and invitations*, to run into the streets, or to as *publick a place*, and, without the least pretended incitement, sputter out the basest and falsest accusations; then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was *all for his service*: This proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence. And I am afraid lest such a practitioner, with a body so *open*, so *foul*, and so *full of sores*, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political *surgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who, without waiting for his death, will *flay* and *disssect* him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the disordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatus's of his spleen; and all this for *three-pence*.

In such a case what a scene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expose! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies so inconsistent with each other in the same breast; furious and fawning, scurrilous

and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world by an angry whig of the *old* stamp, the unavoidable consequence must be a confinement of our *friend* for some months *more* to his garret; and thereby depriving the publick, for so long a time, and in so *important a juncture*, of his useful talents in their service, while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole; but, I hope, with a special regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madness; because it is well known, that madness only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the *curators* of *Bedlam* assure us, that some lunatics are persons of *honour*, *truth*, *benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, discover, in every word and action, the utmost *baseness* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although, perhaps, under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal, which our *friend* shews

or

or means for our cause. And it must be confessed, that the *easy and smooth fluency of his elocution, bestowed on him by nature, and cultivated by continual practice*, added to the *comeliness of his person, the harmony of his voice, the gracefulness of his manner, and the decency of his dress*, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist upon any publick occasion of making them appear with *universal applause*. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their *jest* better than their *friend*; surely, to gain the reputation of the first *orator* in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the *friends* he had in the word.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and as some kinds of assemblies are called the *schools of politicks*, I confess nothing can better improve political school-boys, than the art of making plausible or implausible harangues against the very opinion, for which they resolve to determine.

So cardinal *Perron*, after having spoke for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates, that he could have spoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light, that I think it will bear; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it hath constantly met with ill success in the mouth

of our *friend*; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression; if persons in high stations have *been allowed* to chuse *wenches* without regard even to difference in religion, *yet* never *incurred* the least reflexion on their loyalty, or their protestantism; shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for chusing a *companion*, who may formerly have been suspected for differing from the *orthodox* in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound *whig*?

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern *Ireland*, whose unfortunate weak side it happens to be, for several reasons abovementioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of *one* or *two* gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majesty, and pray heartily for him: yet, because they may perhaps be stigmatized as *quondam* tories by *Pistorides* and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish them under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere *protestant* and a loyal subject, and yet rather chuse to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain, the high-flown loyalists, in the *present* sense of the word, have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *understandings*; neither have they time, from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours, for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love and taste and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? Our thorough-sped republick of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hoppers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *professors*, are, beyond all doubt, most *highly useful* to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to the country; but, at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and, perhaps, to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an original or proselyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents, which, in former ages, qualified a man to be a poet, or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that, where the true genius of party once enters, *it sweeps the house clean*, and leaves room for many *other spirits* to take joint possession, un-

til the *last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first.*

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old *unfashionable* academick education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that, I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of *Plato* and *Pindar*, at his own table, to some *book-learned* companion, without blushing, even when persons of *great stations* are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to spoil their *politicks* and *principles*; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons *directly contrary, in every point*, to the *present practice* of the world: and accordingly *Hobbes* most judiciously observes, that the writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans* made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first *minister*; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions, are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expresses it,
could

could never *take to their books*, yet are well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly spelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against *religion* and *high-flying*; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity, which best becomes a *senator* and a *'squire*.

I could heartily wish his excellency would be more condescending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet, if it be true, what I have read in old *English* story-books, that one *Agésilas* (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught, by the *parson of the parish*, riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that *Socrates*, a heathen philosopher, was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a king, called *Cæsar Augustus* (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of *tories*; and that two great men, called *Scipio* and *Lælius* (I forget their *christian* names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duck and drake* with smooth stones on a river. Now, I say, if these facts be true (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine, why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil; provided he gives no publick scandal; which is, by all means, to be avoided: I say, why he may not be

indulged twice a week to converse with one or two particular persons; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing *ways and means* from and to his *most obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the said particular person, or persons, may not have made so publick a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the business of the nation requires: still submitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right*; by whom the *liberty* of the subject hath been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who, by their wise counsels, have made *commerce* to flourish, *money* to abound, inhabitants to encrease, the value of lands and rents to rise, and the whole island put on a new face of *plenty and prosperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accusation of shewing his favours to *high-flyers, tories, and jacobites*, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a *tory* denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was doctor *Thomas Sheridan*. It is to be observed, that this happened so early in his excellency's government, that it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so *dangerous* an article. The doctor being well known, and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth beyond most of his profes-

profession for many years past, was recommended to his excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the *Greek* tongue; whereof, it seems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordship was too easily prevailed on by the doctor's request, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* language by the doctor's lads, which was written by some heathen author; but whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, must be left to the consciences of the *boys*, the *doctor*, and his *excellency*; the *only* witnesses in this case, whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems, his excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that some time after he gave the doctor a church-living to the value of almost one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good school-masters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to make this bold step without strong recommendations from persons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themselves bound, in justice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of those of their friends. Yet the catastrophe was terrible; for the

doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude (going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof as it is to be supposed the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church), stopt at *Cork* to attend on his bishop; and going to church on the *sunday* following, was, according to the usual civility of country clergymen, invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It *happened* to be the first of *August*; and the first of *August* *happened* that year to light upon a *sunday*; and it *happened* that the doctor's text was in these words; *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof* [i]: and lastly, it *happened* that some one person of the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his majesty's person and government, when service was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town; and, by the zeal of one man of no large dimensions of body or mind, such a clamour was raised, that we in *Dublin* could apprehend no less than an invasion by the *pretender*, who must be landed in the *south*. The result was, that the doctor must be struck out of the chaplain's list, and appear no more at the castle; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a secret; only it is manifest,

[i] The first of *August* is the anniversary of the *Hanoverian* family's accession to the crown of *Great Britain*.

that

that he is a zealous *Hanoverian*, at least in poetry, and a great admirer of the present royal family through all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that, not having observed the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that, in the whole sermon, there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident there seems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who, under the suspicion of a *tory*, received some favour from his excellency, is Mr. *James Stopford*; very strongly recommended by the most eminent *whig* in *England* on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of *tories*: and therefore think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of *Finglass*, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The

The third is doctor *Patrick Delany*. This divine lies under some disadvantage; having, in his youth, received many civilities from a certain [k] person, then in a very high station here; for which reason, I doubt, the doctor never drank his confusion since, and, what makes the matter desperate, it is now too late; unless our *inquisitors* will be content with drinking *confusion* to his *memory*. The aforesaid eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of *party*, distinguished the doctor among other juniors in our university for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the doctor was then in too good a situation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one, who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present lord lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a *friend* [l] among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his excellency should know; and by the truth of which the *giver* would be content to stand or fall in his excellency's opinion; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late archbishop of *Dublin*, the doctor became known to his excellency, whose fatal

[k] Sir *Constantine Phipps*, lord chancellor of *Ireland*, when queen *Anne* died.

[l] The author.

turn of mind towards *beathenish* and *outlandish* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestick, as we are told he is, at the castle of *Dublin*.

Three or four years ago the doctor, grown weary of an academick life, for some reason best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society (which it may not be for their honour to mention), resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds a year falling at the same time with the chancellorship of *Christ-Church*, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition; having squandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover either on the exchange, or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in *St. Patrick's* cathedral; which, being of near the same value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he shall have paid the great incumbrances upon it: so that he may now be said to possess of church preferments

ferments in scattered tithes three hundred pounds a year ; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed ; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But since the doctor hath not, in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either *whig* or *tory* ; and that the lord lieutenant still continues to admit him ; I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US : but like a new *free-mason*, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any *tory* doctrines ; except perhaps some among those few, with which that *wicked party* was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred, for the most *solid reasons*, to the *whole body* of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy : and, upon the strictest examination, have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any *party* suspicion can lie ; I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor *Sheridan*, who, by mere chance-medley, shot his own fortune dead with a single *text*.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one person of the *tory* stamp, who, since the beginning of his excellency's government, did ever receive any solid mark of his favour : I mean Sir *Arthur Acheson*, reported to be an acknowledged *tory* ; and, what is almost as bad, a
scholar

scholar into the bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack [m] upon his estate within two miles of his own house; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of sixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expence of about *five hundred* pounds to put the house in repair, build stables, and other necessaries. I will place this *invidious* mark of beneficence conferred on a *tory* in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations: after which it may be seen how much Sir *Arthur* will be annually a clear gainer by the publick; notwithstanding his *unfortunate* principles, and his knowledge in *greek* and *Latin*.

For repairs, etc. 500 <i>l.</i> the interest	}	30 0 0
whereof <i>per ann.</i>		

For all manner of poultry to furnish	}	5 0 0
the troopers, but which the said		
troopers must be at the labour of		
catching, valued <i>per ann.</i>		

For straggling sheep	-	-	-	-	8 0 0
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For game destroyed five miles round	6 0 0
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49 0 0

Rent paid to Sir <i>Arthur</i>	-	-	-	60 0 0
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Deduct	-	-	-	-	-	49 0 0
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Remains clear	-	-	-	-	-	11 0 0
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[m] See a poem upon this incident, called *Hamilton's bawn*, vol. vii.

Thus,

Thus, if Sir *Arthur Acheson* shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive *net* profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds *sterling*, to help him in entertaining the officers, and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of *good protestants*, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetick, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal interest for the money that Sir *Arthur* must expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may, with good management, be a *saver* at least; which is a *prodigious instance of moderation* in our friends towards a professed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingness he hath shewn to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, since his first arrival hither to this 30th day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other
side

side of the question: and the account will stand thus:

Disposed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency *John lord Carteret*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, in about the space of six years:

To doctor <i>Thomas Sberidan</i> , in a	}	100 0 0
rectory near <i>Kinsale</i> , per ann.		
To Sir <i>Arthur Acheson</i> , baronet,	}	11 0 0
a barrack, per ann.		

111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *protestant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishopricks, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from *England* by their interest at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the only considerable station conferred on a *tory* since his present excellency's government was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that, in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous

ous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) *real tories* can often, with much less difficulty, obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this, with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG Account.

To persons promoted to bishopricks, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed <i>per ann.</i>	}	10,050 0 0
To civil employments - - -		9,030 0 0
To military commands - - -		8,436 0 0
		27,516 0 0

TORY Account.

To <i>tories</i> - - - - -		111 0 0
Balance - - - - -		27,405 0 0

I shall conclude with this observation, that, as I think the *tories* have sufficient reason to be *fully satisfied* with the share of *trust*, *power*, and *employments*, which they possess under the *lenity* of the present government; so, I do
not

not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but *high-church, high-flyers, termagants, laudists, sacheverellians, tip-top-gallant-men, jacobites, tantivys, anti-hanoverians, friends to popery and the pretender, and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, publick incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE protestants, laurel-men, annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, ormondians, iconoclasts, anti-glorious-memorists, anti-revolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians*, and the like, when, by a fair state of the account, [the balance, I conceive, seems to lie on the other side.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON TWO

B I L L S

Sent down from the Right Honourable the House of LORDS to the Honourable the House of COMMONS in *Ireland*, relating to the CLERGY.

Written in the Year 1731.

I HAVE often, for above a month past, desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the *house of lords*: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one single *prelate* of the kingdom; and am a stranger to their *characters*, further than as

common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their functions (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly *apostolical*, absolutely necessary to the perfection of a *christian church*.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or insensibility for other men's sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reasons, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers; at whose mercy every *minister* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector*, or *vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a *bishoprick*, the scene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the *king*; his whole business is once a year to receive the attendance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal presence necessary, for the business may be done by a *vicar-general*.
The

The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and, as matters have been for some time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vice-general, secretaries, proctors, apparitors, seneschals*, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren, in a few days, are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, *like a bird out of the snare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of colonel *Tidcomb*, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression, and hard treatment of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet, in a very few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the *mall*, he confessed that the spirit of colonel-ship was coming fast upon him, which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to *bishopricks*, have always some
great

great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and, before their great promotion, were known by their plain *christian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergy-men*; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point, where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some, who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings: yet we know, what expert *solicitors* the *quakers*, the *dissenters*, and even the *papists* have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced, by the bishops, into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren, were re-

R

fused

fused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in *England*, and the *house of lords* hath, with great expedition, passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the *commons* for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their lordships shall command; and, if the living be above 50*l.* a year, the minister is bound to build, after three years, a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman, with a wife and seven children, gets a living of 55*l. per annum*, he must, after three years, build a house that shall cost 77*l. 10s.* and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But, if the living be under 50*l.* a year, the minister shall be allowed 100*l.* out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that, if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building, the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestra-

questration (an office, which ever falls into the most knavish hands), upon whatever point his *lordship* shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle must increase for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in *Ireland*, reputed to possess a parish of 100*l.* *per annum*, who, for some years past, have actually received 60*l.* and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss, what kind of valuers the *bishops* will make use of; and whether the starving *vicar* will be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the *bishop* shall think fit, only leaving 300*l.* a year to the *mother* church; which 300*l.* by another *act* passed some years ago, they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So, that instead of six hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have, in a small compass of years, almost as many thousands, to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those, who have the least regard to our holy religion as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, dili-

gent, conversable *clergyman*, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable house of commons* will, in their great wisdom, justice, and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so overstocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, an useful, and sometimes a necessary companion. That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with *commissions of the peace*, which several of the *clergy* now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the son of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *miller*, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers, by this scheme, can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest time for fear of losing a single sheaf

sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the *Scotch* proverb, *a hungry louse bites sore*. This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched *pastor* at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The honourable house may, perhaps, be inclined to conceive, that my *lords* the *bishops* enjoy as ample a power, both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office; that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen, over whom they preside; that, if non-residence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality. That, if the general impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of *party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill-judgment, or personal favour* regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct; not to mention *ignorance and stupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, whose aukward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly strut in their walk, without one single talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of *flattery* and *cringing*: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my *nephews*, or had married my *nieces*, I could never, in point of good conscience or honour, have recommended to a *curacy* in *Connaught*.

The *honourable house of commons* may likewise perhaps consider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being less capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and, that most of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwise than by the church, in which there might be some hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons should have settled their *sons*, their *nephews*, their *nieces*, their *dependents* and their *followers* invited over from the other side, there would still remain an overplus of smaller church-preferments to be given to such clergy of the nation, who shall have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the denomination of *tories*; unless they

they can be contented at the utmost with 50*l.* a year; which, by the difficulties of collecting tythes in *Ireland*, and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed, that the *divines*, sent over hither to govern this church, have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themselves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which, consequently, must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the publick distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose, that whatever a parish is said to be worth, comes all into the *parson's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of *England* hath been the continual complaint of all men, who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an *English* vicar, of 40*l.* a year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in *Ireland*. His farmers, generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of ancient standing, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than

than a pot of ale: he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than *goody*. He is sometimes graciously invited by the 'squire, where he sits at an humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry *servitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *college*. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of *Ireland*, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, The *honourable house of commons* may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for choosing parliament-men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40*s. per annum, ultra reprisas*) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their *bishops*. For, by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my *lords* and *bishops* have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of *ecclesiastical militants* able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their *wall lectures*; and begin to doubt they must be contented with *barns*; which *barns* will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our *true protestant brethren*, the *dissenters*.

The scheme of encouraging *clergymen* to build houses, by dividing a living of 500 *l.* a year into ten parts, is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued, that *bishops* build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in *England*, who could never be persuaded to keep a *servant* out of *livery*; because servants would be expensive, and apt, in time, to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and, at a cheaper pennyworth, might increase his retinue.

I hear it is the opinion of many wise men, that, before these bills pass both houses, they should be sent back to *England* with the following clauses inserted.

First, That whereas there may be about a dozen double *bishopricks* in *Ireland*, those *bishopricks* should be split and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts,

parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started, whether twenty-two *prelates* can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual *subjects*. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections, that I shall not insist upon it: for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in upon a report, that the *sun* was going to marry.

Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children bastards: for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clause will be necessary; that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified for giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men*.

Others add a fourth; which is a clause of indulgence, that these reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices (for, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have *episcopal ordination*). For example; they may be lappers of linen, bayliffs of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaisters, for three miles round: they may get a dispensation to hold the *clerkship* and *sextonship* of
of

of their own parish *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *soldiers*: in linen countries they may *card* and *spin*, and keep a few looms in the house: they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unless to sober company, and at regular hours. It is by some thought a little hard, that, in an affair of the last consequence to the very being of the *clergy*, in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the established instructors of the nation in christianity and moral virtues, and are the only persons concerned, should be the sole persons not consulted. Let any scholar shew the like precedent, in *Christendom*, for twelve hundred years past. An act of parliament for settling or selling an estate in a private family is never passed, until all parties give consent. But in the present case the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter ruin, without once expecting or asking their opinion; and this by a scheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been chosen in the usual forms, wants only the regal permission to assemble, and consult about the affairs of the church, as their predecessors have always done in former ages: where it is presumed, the *lower house* hath a power of proposing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And
God

God forbid (say these objectors) that there should be a real separate interest between the bishops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It seems there is a provision in the bill, that no parish shall be cut into scraps without the consent of several persons, who can be no sufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution; because they argue, that the very persons from whom these bills took their rise, will have the greatest share in the decision.

I do not, by any means, conceive the crying sin of the *clergy*, in this kingdom, to be that of *non-residence*. I am sure, it is many degrees less so here than in *England*; unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name; and, if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed: I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably few; especially, considering how many parishes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is, upon any reasonable terms, to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my *lords the bishops* will be soon able to convince the *clergy*, or those who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordships* minds by procuring these bills was to prevent the sin of *non-residence*; while the universal opinion of almost every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without distinction of party, taking

taking in even those who are not likely to be sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some livings in the *north* may be justly thought too large a compass of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remotest inhabitants to attend the service of the church, which, in some instances, may be true, no reasonable *clergyman* would oppose a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus, for instance, the *deanry of Down*, a country *deanry*, I think, without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of parishes joined together in a time when the land lay waste and thinly inhabited, since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent competency to the *dean*, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary *curates*.

The case may be, probably, the same in other parts: and such a proceeding discreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed, that the dean and chapter lands, which, in *England*, were all seized under the fanatick usurpation, are things unknown in *Ireland*, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confusions, and tithes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

The late [n] *archbishop of Dublin* had a very different way of encouraging the *clergy* of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent; and with no great abatement to the fine; and this he did in the parts near *Dublin*, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almost every *bishop*, in the kingdom, may do the same generous act with less damage to their fees, than his late *grace of Dublin*; much of whose lands were out in fee-farms or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project; which they call a *levelling principle*, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtue, and most generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any *clergyman*, whom this kingdom shall produce.

But, whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of fu-

[n] The right reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.

ture

ture *bishops* sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to assert; that, from the earliest ages of christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding, much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such hands in any christian country; and so it may pass for more than a *phœnix*; because it hath risen without any assistance from the *ashes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of so many *dissenters* at the hearing of this cause is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action hath been censured as a mark of *triumph* and insult before the *victory* is complete: since neither of these bills hath yet passed the *house of commons*, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be [o] rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or sub-divided tithes towards encreasing the stipends of the *sectaries*. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down stairs, took comfort, when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

[o] They were rejected in the *house of commons* by a great majority.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of so high a nature, and carry such dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no offence, because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those, who place all difference in opinion concerning publick matters to the score of *disaffection*; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my *detractors*.

Dublin, February

24, 1731-2.

A PRO-

A
P R O P O S A L
FOR AN
ACT OF PARLIAMENT

To pay off the D E B T of the Nation
without Taxing the S U B J E C T ;

By which the Number of landed Gentry and
substantial Farmers will be considerably
increased, and no Person will be the
poorer, or contribute one Farthing to the
Charge [p].

Written in the Year 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for
the service and safety of the nation are
grown so great, that under our present dis-
tressed condition, by the want of trade, the
great remittances to pay *absentees*, regi-
ments serving abroad, and many other drains
of money well enough known and felt, the
kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge
them by the common methods of payment :
and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too

[p] The reader will perceive the following trea-
tise to be altogether ironical.

odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an *Irish* tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax*, upon a racked estate, would be a burthen wholly insupportable.

The question will then be, how these national debts can be paid: and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal: which I shall now lay open to the publick.

The revenues of their graces and lordships the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount, by a moderate computation, to 36,800*l.* *per annum*. I mean the rents, which the bishops receive from their tenants. But the real value of those lands at a full rent, taking the several fees one with another, is reckoned to be at least three fourths more; so that, multiplying 36,800*l.* by 4, the full rent of all the bishops lands will amount to 147,200*l.* *per ann.* from which subtracting the present rent received by their lordships, that is 36,800*l.* the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400*l.* *per ann.* which lands, if they were to be sold at twenty-two years purchase, would raise a
sum

sum of 2,428,800*l.* reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum I propose that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400*l.* so much be applied, as will entirely discharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury to supply contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the present set of bishops would be great losers by this scheme for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to such *religious, loyal, and deserving* personages; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchase; but, if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than seven years purchase; so that the purchasers may very well afford fifteen years purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800*l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably; because the lands are to be sold only at fifteen years purchase, and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000*l.* of which I propose twelve hundred thousand pounds to be applied partly for the payment

296 A PROPOSAL FOR PAYING

of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigences; and the remainder 456,000*l.* I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the publick stock.

Although the bishops round do not, in reality, receive three fines a-piece, which take up twenty-one years, yet I allow it to be so; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent in recompence of giving them so large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800*l.* by 3, the product will be only 110,400*l.* so that above three fourths will remain to be applied to publick use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons; however, the mistakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my proposal; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same see: if he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant see-lands are to come immediately into possession of the see he hath left; and both the bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines;

finer; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other see will find candidates enough. For the law maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor*; I mean, the persons who succeed may chuse whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchasers, they will, probably, be tenants to the see, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myself. If a person already a bishop be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and so must he who comes into a bishoprick vacant by death: and this will bring the matter sooner to bear; which, if the crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present sett of bishops; and consequently encourage purchasers of their lands. For example: if a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole sett of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and thereby save a great part of that sum, which I have appropriated towards supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops lands two years purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the king and council in *England*, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands, at the re-

modest distances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it, but in buying of land; which, consequently, makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry, where the bishops tenants are not able or willing to purchase; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: several persons from *England* will, probably, be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchase at home under the loads of taxes for the publick and the poor, as well as repairs; by which means much money may be brought among us; and, probably, some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and, perhaps, of *non-solvencies* in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This proposal will also multiply farmers, when the purchasers will have lands in their own power to give long and easy leases to industrious husbandmen.

I have allowed some bishopricks, of equal income, to be of more or less value to the purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For instance: the lands of the primacy
and

and some other fees are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bishop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the fees of *Meath* and *Clonsfert* consisting, as I am told, much of tithes; those tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the see of *Dublin* is said to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and some leases for lives, which pay very little, and not so soon nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbishops, and my lords the bishops, will heartily join this proposal out of gratitude to his late and present majesty, the best of kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent stations; as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the nation's debts without impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordships from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of these very leases under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be sub-

ject both to rents and fines at the pleasure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, especially the *dissenters*, who are our *true loyal* protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all (wherein I beg to differ from them) being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet to be distributed to poor profelytes.

I will add one word more; that by such a wholesome law as the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that, when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in *Dublin*, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know

I know very well, that this scheme hath been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom; yet since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people, among whom I have been so well received. And if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law (which being not in the least injurious to *England* will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

A N
E X A M I N A T I O N

O F

Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities, in the City of *Dublin*.

Written in the Year 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the *French* call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government, our famous city of *Dublin* is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which, I hope, the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath;

breath ; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions spread almost through every part of *Dublin* ; and proposing such remedies, as, I hope, the legislature will approve of.

The narrow compass, to which I have confined myself in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects ; and such as, I think, seem to require the most speedy redress.

And first ; perhaps there was never known a wiser institution, than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes in large and populous cities to cry through the streets many necessaries of life : it would be endless to recount the conveniencies which our city enjoys by this useful invention ; and particularly strangers forced hither by business, who reside here but a short time : for these, having usually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might, at an easy price, purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms, that a plain christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there see whether the thing that is cried be *tripes* or *flummery*, *butter-milk* or *cow-beels*. For as things are now managed,

managed, how is it possible for an honest countryman just arrived to find out what is meant, for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stunned twice a day, *muggs, juggs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in the cellar*; I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse, I mean, where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much disturbance, and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of *herrings* is directly against all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive bere*; the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*? And, pray, how is it possible, that a *herring*, which, as *philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from *Howth* to *Dublin*, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these *herrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What

can we think of those impious wretches, who dare, in the face of the sun, vouch the very same affirmative of their *salmon*, and cry *salmon alive, alive*; whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual *salmon* cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse, and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers; but all in vain: so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another *cry*, which, from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of [*p*] *sweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflexion upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase *sweet hearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *cry* doth not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in *England*, the ladies were forced to take up with *parsons* and *attornies*: but this is a most unjust reflexion, as may soon be proved by

[*p*] A sort of sugar-cakes in the shape of hearts.

any

any person who frequents the *castle*, our public walks, our balls and assemblies; where the crouds of [q] *toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a *cry* peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in *London*; or at least, not in the same terms that it hath been practised by both parties during each of their power, but very unjustly by the *tories*. While these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows, with large baskets on their shoulders, to call aloud at every house, *Dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be *cleansed*, until we were *swept* from the earth like *rubbish*. But since that happy turn of times, when we were so *miraculously* preserved by just an *inch* from *popery*, *slavery*, *massacre*, and the *pretender*, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same *cry*; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: every person, who walks the streets, must needs

[q] A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for it's owner; now in fashion, *Dec.*

1, 1733.

observe

observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party hath assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by *British fundamentals*, to make the world believe, that our *Irish* vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from *jacobites* and *papists*. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a *British anus* being more narrowly preforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements, upon a strict view, appearing cottle-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the *Hibernian*, which lie much flatter and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician, who is well versed in such profound speculations; and, at my request, was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the *anus* of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill-disposed people alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of *Hibernian* origin. This I only mention, to shew how ready the *jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add, that my friend the physician could, by smelling each finger, distinguish
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the *Hibernian* excrement from the *British*, and was not above twice mistaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the *butchers*; but is often continued by a succession of other people through many streets; it is called the *Cossing of a dog*: and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: a strange dog happens to pass through a flesh-market; whereupon an expert *butcher* immediately cries, in a loud voice and the proper tone, *Coss, coss*, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly understands the terms of art, and, consequently, the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people, and even his own *brother animals*, pursue: the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill-wishers of the *jacobite* kind are pleased to call a *persecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principles. But we can well defend ourselves by justly alledging, that, when they were uppermost, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have, in former times, often attended these *processions*, although I can very well distinguish between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were against certain malicious *dogs*, who most discovered their enmity
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against us in the *worst of times* [r]. And I remember too well, that in the wicked ministry of the earl of Oxford a large mastiff of our party, being unmercifully *coffed*, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up *Fishamble-street*; and, as I am of low stature with very short legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and clung my legs as close to his sides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where, after rowling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidst the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious *jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other *services* and *sufferings* [s] I have been since more than overpaid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diversion of *coffing*, which I confess myself an enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *tory dogs*; whereof great numbers have been seen so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now justly esteemed the best *warriers* of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers boys, where members of

[r] A cant word used by the *whigs* for the four last years of queen Anne's reign, during the earl of Oxford's ministry.

[s] See the apology for the *Tale of a Tub*.

par-

parliament chiefly lodge, are hired, by *our enemies*, to sculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any *loyal* member, they call *coach, coach*, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instance when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus, by the absence of a few members for a few minutes, a question may be carried against the *true interest* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses, where *punch* is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of *punch*, the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one, and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black *lion*, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single *eagle*, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a *crow*, a *swan*, a *bear*, or a *cock*, in the same posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these animals, either separate or in conjunction, are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments

ments to advance the sale of *punch*. Besides, it is agreed among *naturalists*, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he hath been used to it from his infancy; and, consequently, it is against all the rules of *hieroglyph* to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of *punch*. For in that case we ought to suppose, that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which however, to my knowledge, is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a *christian*, as to aiding and assisting in making the *punch*. For as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the *bear*, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them all *bandy* enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently suspect a *plot* intended against the government by these devices. For although the *spread-eagle* be the arms of *Germany*, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful *protestant* sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides, in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is said to be of *German* birth: and that many *popish* princes, in so vast an extent of land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking *punch*: besides it is plain, that the *spread-eagle*

eagle exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *cross*; which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to represent the *French* nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *swan*, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the *Spaniard*, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the *Indies* to himself. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power as well as the arms of *England*; but to paint him black is perfect *jacobitism*, and a manifest type of those who *blacken* the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish whether that other fowl painted over the *punch-bowl* be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds; but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of the *christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the *jacobites* in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion; the least offensive picture, in the whole sett, seems to be the *bear*; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the *north*, where the *reformation* first began; and which, next to *Britain* (including *Scotland* and the *north* of *Ireland*) is the great protector of the *true protestant* religion. But how-
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ever in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *jacobite* contrivance; by which these traytors hint an earnest desire of using all *true whigs*, as their predecessors did the primitive christians: I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to *punch*. I own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but, methinks, there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish I may be found a false prophet. For these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these *popish jacobites*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is easier than to prove it a disaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are *brandy, oranges, and lemons*, are all sent us from *popish* countries, and nothing remains of *protestant* growth, but *sugar and water*. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly *British*, we find it entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is, by one important innovation, grown of ill example, and dangerous consequence to the

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publick.

publick. It is well known, that, by the true original institution of making *punch* left us by captain *Ratcliff*, the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of *lemons*; and so continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and, in a manner, *but of yesterday*. It was the politicks of *jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their virulence against his sacred majesty king *William of ever glorious and immortal memory*. But of late (to shew how fast disloyalty increaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay, at present, we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one single *lemon*. For the *jacobites* before the death of that immortal prince had, by a superstition, formed a private prayer, that as they *squeezed* the *orange*, so might that *protestant* king be *squeezed* to death; according to the known *forcery* described by *Virgil*;

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit, etc.

And thus the *Romans*, when they sacrificed an ox, used this kind of prayer; *as I knock down this ox, so may'st thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies*. In like manner after king *William's* death, whenever a *jacobite* *squeezed* an *orange*, he had a mental curse upon the *glorious memory*, and a hearty wish for power to *squeeze* all his majesty's friends to death, as he *squeezed* that *orange*, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of *Orange*.

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This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me, under an *oath of secrecy*, which, however, I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an *impious* sett of men, who never scruple to drink **CONFUSION** to all *true protestants* under the name of *whigs*? A most unchristian and inhuman practice; *which, to our great honour and comfort, was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.*

The sign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right-hands supporting a *crown*, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reasons to suspect the latter), those *angels* are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *countenances*, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the *jacobites*, being a most infamous reflexion upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries*; most of which we have borrowed from *London*. I shall consider them only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and, having been originally contrived by wicked *Machiavels*, to bring in *popery*, *slavery*, and *arbitrary power* by defeating the *protestant* succession, and introducing the *pretender*, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy *revolution*, all persons, who possessed any employment or office, in church or state, were obliged, by an act of parliament, to take the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*: and a great number of disaffected persons refusing to take the said oaths, from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really from a spirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud shrill voices, under pretence of selling fish, to go through the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry, *Buy my soul, buy my soul*; plainly insinuating, that all those, who swore to king *William*, were just ready to sell their *souls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen *Anne*, and, I hear, still continues in *London*, with much offence to all *true protestants*; but, to our great happiness, seems to be almost dropt in *Dublin*.

But because I altogether condemn the displeasure and resentment of *high-flyers, tories, and jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worse even than profess'd papists*, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the *worst of times* under the late earl of *Oxford's* administration, during the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign. That *wicked minister* was *universally known to be a papist in his heart*.

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He [†] was of a most avaritious nature, and is said to have died worth four millions sterling, besides his vast expence in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean obscure birth, from the very dregs of the pople; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead: and therefore I shall observe this wise maxim; *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt several *London* cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And, whereas it was upon good grounds grievously suspected that all *places* at court were sold to the highest bidder; certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry *fish* in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, *Buy my fresh places*. I must indeed own that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold *fish* of that denomination to get an honest livelihood: but the rest, who were in the *secret*, although they carried *fish* in their sieves, or baskets, to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the *free-masons*, which

[†] The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of lord Oxford.

the purchasers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women, whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen finely drest about the court-end of the town, and as far as *York-buildings*, where the lord-treasurer *Oxford* dwelt, calling the women who cried *Buy my fresh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the duke of *Savoy* was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of *England* for admitting his eldest son, by the duchess of *Orleans's* daughter, to succeed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn *protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people disaffected to the then *illustrious*, but now *royal*, house of *Hanover* were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired, by the *jacobite* leaders, to cry through the whole town, *Buy my Savoys, dainty Savoys, curious Savoys*. But I cannot directly charge the late earl of *Oxford* with this *conspiracy*, because he was not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in *London*, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offensive sound to every true *protestant*,
who

who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and *jacobite* earl abovementioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power was to sell *Flanders* to *France*: the consequence of which must have been the infallible ruin of the *States-general*, and would have opened the way for *France* to obtain that universal monarchy, they have so long aimed at; to which the *British* dominions must next after *Holland* have been compelled to submit, whereby the *protestant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the *jacobite* grandees with the earl of *Oxford* at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex: and upon this occasion was first instituted in *London* that famous cry of **FLOUNDERS**. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *Flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country, which we now by corruption call *Flanders*, is in its true orthography spelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old *English* books. I say, from hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever since stunned the ears of all *London*, made so many children fall into fits, and women miscarry; *Come, buy my*

my fresh flanders, *curious* flanders, *charming* flanders, *alive, alive, ho*; which last words can, with no propriety of speech, be applied to fish manifestly dead (as I observed before in *berrings* and *salmon*) but very justly to ten provinces, containing many millions of living *christians*. But the application is still closer, when we consider that all the people were to be taken like *fishes* in a net; and, by assistance of the *pope*, who sets up to be the *universal fisher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expression, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myself, a particular crier of *flounders* in *London*, who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in those days so fully apprized of the designs, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to myself, *This cry seems to be forged in the jesuits school: alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken, if there be not some popish plot at the bottom*. I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations; but it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that, if the wicked faction could
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have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs, as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been, not only to these two kingdoms, but over all *Europe*, by selling *Flanders* to *France*. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in *London* and *Dublin*; although, I confess, not with equal vehemency or loudness; because the reason for contriving this desperate plot is, to our great felicity, wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the majority of the *British* house of commons in the last years of queen *Anne's* reign were in their hearts directly opposite to the earl of *Oxford's* pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation (as it was proved before justice [u] *Peyton*) to cry that vegetable commonly called *sellery* through the town. These women differ from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of *sellery* brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not, at this present, the least occasion to suspect the loyalty of our

[u] A famous whig justice in those times.

criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politicks; but is indeed of all others the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the best orthography, but absolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities, for it began soon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height, as during the earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself to profess their disapprobation of this cry, on pretence that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureesses, who kept houses of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by some words in the cry; because, after the crier had bawled out *Turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would sometimes add the two following verses,
*Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.*

This, say some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness; which, indeed, ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this
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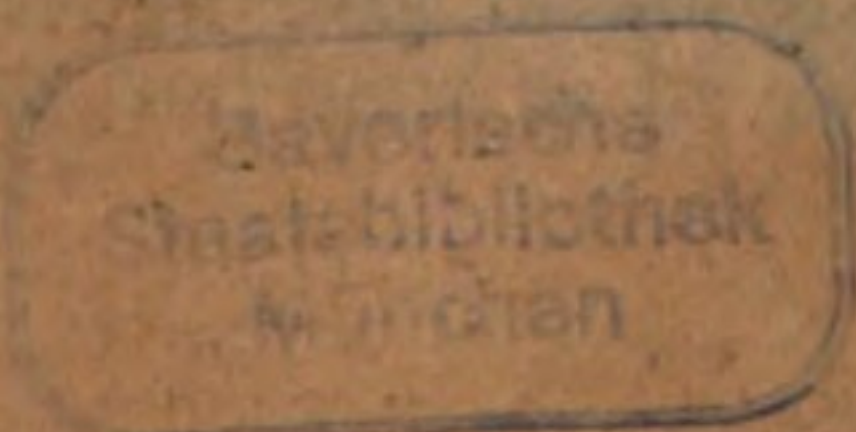
time of day with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. *Swan*, so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *jacobite* as any in *England*. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence by Sir *Henry Dutton-Colt*, and Colonel *Davenport*, at the *Smyrna* coffee-house, on the 10th of *June*, 1701. Thus it appears to be a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who, from the first years after the happy revolution used a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *we hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king TURN UP trump: and, when shall we meet over a dish of TURN-UPS?* The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. *Willes*, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light; because the *Scotch* and *French* authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed, that this cry was sung in a particular manner by fellows in disguise to give notice where
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those traitors were to meet in order to concert their villainous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an an humble proposal, that those who cry this root at present in our streets of *Dublin* may be compelled, by the justices of the peace, to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*; for, I am afraid, we have still too many snakes in our bosom, and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched, when the owners least expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus, we are zealous in matters of small moment, while we neglect those of the highest importance. I have already made it manifest, that all these cries were contrived in the *worst of times*, under the ministry of that desperate statesman *Robert* late earl of *Oxford*; and for that very reason ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of *jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treason*; or, if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the hands of *true protestants*, who have given security to the government.

F I N I S.







Swift, Jonathan, 1667-1745

The works of Jonathan Swift

Bd.: 10.

London 1765

P.o.angl. 413 u-10

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